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MIND OF THE NATION

A STUDY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

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AUTHOR OF

"FROM MATTER TO MIND," AND "IGNORANCE; A STUDY OF THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF POPULAR THOUGHT"

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PREFACE

THE objects of the present work are first to describe and analyse the machinery of National Government, and the motive forces which have actuated it during the present century, secondly to point out the source, the direction and the balance of power at the present day, and thirdly to indicate which of the tendencies of modern constitutional development seem to lead to danger, and ought therefore to be resisted, and which will probably lead to strength, prosperity and happiness, and ought therefore to be encouraged.

Book i. consists of a description of the main parts of the Constitutional Machine given as briefly as possible consistent with clearness and accuracy, but no attempt has been made to render it in any sense of the word a full or complete account of the details of executive and legislative government, and the history of constitutional development has only been introduced where it was absolutely necessary to render the present custom intelligible. The chief authorities consulted and quoted are Blackstone, Stephens, Stubbs, Hallam, Anson, and Dicey, and such of the Statutes as deal with the structure of the Constitution, the description given being intended to show the appearance of the machine at rest.

Book ii. consists of a description and analysis of the psychological forces which have acted upon the machine during the century, and attempts to

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estimate their relative influence. The plan adopted has been to state in separate chapters the opinions and actions of the Monarchs, the Ministers, the Parties in the Houses of Parliament, the Press and the Public.

In chapter i. the political influence and actions of George III., George IV., and William IV. are described, and in chapter ii. such political acts of the Queen and Prince Consort as have already become publicly known with a brief description of the royal influence as felt at present. The characters of the leading statesmen have next been sketched, and an account given of the intellectual calibre of the members of the Houses of Parliament and local councils.

The principles and practice of the political parties occupy the following two chapters and the succeeding three are devoted to an account of the influence of the Press as it affected the chief legislative measures and executive actions of the Governments. The quotations are condensed into as short a space as possible, and only the main ideas of the writers are given, in nearly all cases in their own words. A chapter on the National Religion has been introduced with the object of showing its connection with politics, and of pointing out that the various interpretations read into the doctrine of Christ to suit the economic needs of the ages have led to such a hopeless intermingling of spiritual and material ideas that there is a great danger lest some trivial detail of ritual, invented by man, should receive so much attention that the main principles of our Lord should be overlooked and forgotten.

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An attempt has next been made to discover the principles which actuate the public, and to reduce into some rational order the chaos of emotions which affect the popular conception of political duty. The whole concludes with an epitome of the preceding, arranged so that the predominant force or forces which produced any action can be at once discovered, and some idea deduced of the balance of power at the present time and in the immediate future.

It may be of interest to state here that although a knowledge of facts may be gained by reading histories and biographies, it is impossible to realise accurately the forces which caused events without reading the letters and documents of statesmen, and the newspapers written at the period. It is possible to forget the present and imagine oneself living in the early years of the century, after reading the acccounts of the Battle of Waterloo, for example, written on the spot, but a formal work, compiled years afterwards, although it may be more accurate, lacks natural feeling, and savours of philosophic reason.

It is undoubtedly true that historians and philosophers, being actuated by the ordinary emotions, cannot deal with very recent events without showing some prejudice, and should therefore only write after the passions of the period have long subsided; yet there is equally no doubt that the history of the world is chiefly made by prejudices and passions which are only genuinely described in accounts written at the time.

Histories and biographies, indeed, give a more accurate outline of the picture, but the Press of

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the period provides the intensity of colour which chiefly affected the public eye. It is therefore of importance for students of history to remember that the perusal of old newspapers is not only a most interesting and entertaining pastime, but also gives a realistic colour to the description of events, and infuses real life into long-dead characters.

The great difficulty in writing this work has been to compress the enormous amount of material into a limited space, and, consequently, no description of events has been attempted, and the main principles only have been emphasised, the reader being presumed to have a fair acquaintance with history.

The works consulted comprise most of the histories of the century, the biographies of the leading statesmen and politicians, the treatises on political economy and political science, and the leading reviews and newspapers, but it is unnecessary to enumerate them here since the sources of information have been indicated in the usual manner by footnotes.

I take this opportunity of thanking heartily all those who have helped me with information and advice, and am especially grateful to the Colonial Office for supplying me with the information quoted on page 32, and the Publishers and Editors of the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*, who have given me permission to quote largely from their articles, the Editor of the *Quarterly* having also furnished me with the names of the writers of the first six articles quoted.

I also wish to thank the Town-Clerks of the

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larger towns for supplying me with the data analysed in the table on page 203, and the officials in the reading rooms of the British Museum for their promptitude in supplying copies of ancient newspapers from its priceless store.

M. R. P. D.

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BOOK I

THE GOVERNMENT MACHINE

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CHAPTER I

THE CROWN AND CABINET

Section I.—The Prerogative of the Crown

We only intend here to give a brief outline of the structure of the constitutional machine of the United Kingdom, so that we may be enabled the more easily to appreciate the effects of the various forces to be described in the second part of the work, but in order to be as complete as possible we will take the headings under which Blackstone describes the Royal prerogative, and discuss how the theoretical duties of the Sovereign are actually at present carried out and who are directly responsible for their due performance.

1. The Sovereign is pre-eminent.

The Sovereign is socially the first person in the realm and takes precedence of everyone on all occasions.

2. The King can do no wrong.

If the acts of the King are contrary to law they are subject to reversal on that ground. The statute (12 and 13 Will. III. c. 2) states "that the laws of England are the birthright of the people thereof, and all the kings and queens who shall ascend the throne of this realm ought to administer the government of the same according to the said laws; and all their officers and ministers ought to serve them respectively according to the same, and therefore all the

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laws and statutes of the same now in force are ratified and confirmed accordingly."

The Coronation oath expresses that the duty of the Monarch to the people is (1) to govern according to law; (2) to execute judgment in mercy; (3) to maintain the Established Protestant Religion.

Professor Dicey maintains that the maxim "The King can do no wrong," as now interpreted by the courts, means, in the first place, that by no proceeding known to the law can the King be made personally responsible for any act done by him; and secondly, that no one can plead the orders of the Crown, or indeed of any superior officer, in defence of any act not otherwise justifiable by law."[1]

A subject may petition the King in the High Court of Justice. Both Houses of Parliament have frequently petitioned and remonstrated with the King, and during the reigns of Charles I. and James II. absolutely neglected their authority. Since most of the power of the Sovereign is now exercised by the Cabinet, the blame for doing wrong falls upon the heads of its members, and is expressed by an adverse vote in one or both of the Houses of Parliament. If the Commons pass a vote of censure, Ministers at once resign and appeal to the opinion of the country by means of a general election.

"One great security for the throne in this country is the maxim that the Sovereign can do no wrong. This does not mean that no wrong can be done; but it means that as the Sovereign accepts and acts by the advice of those ministers who, for the time being, enjoy the confidence of the Crown, it is those Ministers and not the Sovereign personally upon whom must fall the blame or the criticism which any acts of the royal prerogative may produce."[2]

[1] Dicey: "The Law of the Constitution," p. 24.

[2] Letter from Lord Palmerston to Sir Charles Phipps.

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Section II.—The Powers of the Sovereign

1. The power of sending ambassadors to foreign states and receiving ambassadors at home.

This power is now exercised on the advice of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs and the Prime Minister. The manner in which it is exercised will therefore be discussed in the section on the Foreign Office.

2. It is the King's prerogative to make treaties, leagues and alliances with foreign states and princes.

This prerogative is exercised on the advice of the Prime Minister but since the Cabinet is always supposed to be unanimous, if the action of the Foreign Office was condemned, the Ministry would resign. Lord Palmerston's habit of supplementing official despatches by private letters and indiscreet speeches to Ministers at home and abroad caused much friction and led to his dismissal from office by the Queen in 1851. The letter written to Lord John Russell by the Queen in the year previously, shows clearly that the Sovereign expects to have foreign despatches laid before her in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off. Also that the foreign secretary will distinctly state what he proposes in a given case, in order that the Queen may know as distinctly to what she has given her sanction.[1]

The Crown upholds the action of the ambassador, envoy or plenipotentiary, and never enters into private negotiations with monarchs. In answer to

[1] Martin : "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 305.

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the King of Prussia before the Crimean War the Queen writes :—

OSBORNE, *March 17th*, 1854.

"Your Majesty's envoy has taken part in this Conference and its decision and when your Majesty says 'where the vocation of diplomacy ends there that of the Sovereign may with propriety begin' I cannot concur in any such line of demarcation, for what my ambassador does he does in my name, and consequently I feel myself not only bound in honour, but also constrained by an imperative obligation to accept the consequences, whatever they may be, of the line which he has been directed to adopt."[1]

The Queen never writes to a foreign monarch without submitting her letters to the Minister.

"Where a treaty involves either a charge on the people or a change in the law of the land, it may be made, but cannot be carried into effect without the sanction of Parliament."[2]

Regarding cession of territory the extent of the royal prerogative is unsettled. In 1890, on the cession of Heligoland to Germany, the Queen was advised by her Ministers to make the cession conditional on the approval of Parliament.

3. The Crown can make war and peace acting on the advice of Ministers. The peace after the Crimean War was signed on the advice of the Cabinet, although there is evidence that the terms were not altogether approved by the Queen and Prince Consort. On March 21st, 1856, the Prince writes—

"The Peace is to be signed on Monday. It is not such as we could have wished; still infinitely to be preferred to the prosecution of the war, with the present complication of general policy."[3]

[1] Martin : "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 43.
[2] Anson : "Law and Customs of the Constitution," vol. ii. p. 279.
[3] "The Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 470.

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The Queen also wrote to the Emperor on April 3rd—

"Although sharing in the feeling of the majority of my people who think this Peace is perhaps a little premature, I feel bound to tell you that I approve highly of the terms in which it is couched as a result not unworthy of the sacrifices made by us in common during this just war and as insuring, so far as this is possible, the stability and the equilibrium of Europe."[1]

When the Crown and Cabinet decide that war shall be declared, the Crown in council proclaims the declaration of war and the Foreign Office recalls the ambassadors. The House of Commons can refuse supplies but has no more power. In 1857, when the House condemned the China war, Lord Palmerston appealed to the country.

4. Letters of marque and reprisal have been long disused.

5. Safe conducts to subjects travelling in foreign lands and to foreign subjects at home are now granted by means of passports under the Sovereign's sign manual, or from his ambassadors abroad.

6. The right of a veto on legislation.

This right has not been used since 1707, in the reign of Queen Anne, but the Monarch may inform his Ministers that the measure which they intend to propose is distasteful to him, and that he will not entertain it. If they insist he can dismiss them, and if Parliament will not support the new Ministers he can dissolve it and so appeal to the country. Since the Reform Bill was thrown out by the Lords in 1831, and the Cabinet forced the King to dissolve Parliament, it has practically been settled that the King must give effect to the advice of the Cabinet when supported by the nation.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 473.

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7. The King is first in military command.

(*a*) This applies to fleets, armies and forts.

The navy is governed by the Admiralty and the army by the War Office.

(*b*) Right of appointing Ports and Havens.

These are now governed by various local authorities controlled chiefly by the Local Government Board, the Board of Trade and the Home Secretary.

(*c*) The erection of beacons, lighthouses and sea marks.

These are now erected and controlled by the Trinity House and Board of Trade in England, Wales and the Channel Islands, and by the Lighthouse Commissioners in Scotland and Ireland.

(*d*) The Crown can prohibit by order in council or proclamation (39 and 40 Vict. c. 36) the importations of arms, ammunition, gunpowder or other goods, or the exportation of the same or any military stores.

8. The Crown is the fountain of justice.

The whole judicial power is now delegated to the Courts of Justice. The Sovereign, on the recommendation of the Lord Chancellor, appoints the Judges of the High Court, and the Chancellor appoints the Justices of the Peace for the counties on the recommendation of the Lord-lieutenants, and the Borough Justices on the recommendation of the Home Secretary; the prerogative of pardoning is exercised only on the advice of the Home Secretary. In 1822 the King wished to respite four punishments, but Sir Robert Peel and the Cabinet opposed it and the sentences were carried out.

9. As Parens Patriæ the Sovereign is the guardian of Infants, Idiots and Lunatics. This power is

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delegated to the Lord Chancellor, and pauper lunatics are provided for under the administration of the County Councils.

10. The Crown is the fountain of honour, of office and of privilege. The Crown confers all dignities and honours; selects the Prime Minister, who lays the names of his colleagues before the Crown for approval; may create an unlimited number of peers of the United Kingdom, but the Scotch and Irish peerage is limited by the Acts of Union; may create new offices and new titles, provided that they do not levy a tax on the subject; but cannot alter the law of precedence of peers or officers of state; may grant pensions on the Civil list to the extent of £1200 per annum.

11. The Crown is the Arbiter of Commerce. Establishments of markets and regulations of railways, merchant seamen, piers and harbours, trading companies and bankruptcy now constitute the functions of the Board of Trade. The coinage is regulated by the Treasury and Mint authorities and has been under the control of Parliament since the Revolution. Corn returns for tithe purposes are now controlled by the Board of Agriculture.

12. The Crown is the Head of the Established Church.

The doctrine and ritual cannot be altered except by Act of Parliament, and the appointment of Bishops is exercised on the advice of the Prime Minister. George III. in 1806 refused to appoint as Archbishop of Canterbury the Bishop of Lincoln, who had been nominated by Pitt, and wished to appoint the Bishop of Norwich instead. Pitt was very angry and wrote, "Your Majesty's refusal to

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comply with his request can hardly be understood by himself, and will certainly not be understood by the public in any other light than as a decisive mark of your Majesty's not honouring him with that degree of confidence which his predecessors have enjoyed."[1]

Nevertheless the King carried his point. There has been no instance since of a Monarch refusing to ratify the nomination of his Minister.

The Queen's pleasure is expressed for administrative purposes in one of three ways :—

(1) By order in Council when the Privy Council are parties to the transaction.

(2) By order, commission or warrant under the sign manual, which is countersigned by one or more Ministers.

Except instructions to Colonial Governors, which are sealed with the signet but not countersigned.

(3) By Writs, Letters Patent or other document under the Great Seal; wherein responsibility rests with the Chancellor.[2]

When the Queen, acting on the advice of Mr Gladstone, abolished the purchase system in the army, after the Bill had been thrown out by the House of Lords, she used the royal warrant under the provisions of (49 Geo. III. c. 126). This is the most striking instance in this reign of the use of the royal prerogative by a Minister to overrule the decision of one of the Houses of Parliament.

The use of the Royal prerogative with the advice of Ministers possesses several advantages of which perhaps the chief are, the quickness of action which

[1] "Life of Pitt," by Lord Ashburton, p. 353.

[2] Anson: "Law and Customs of the Constitution," p. 43, 44.

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would be impossible if each measure had to be first debated in Parliament, the possibility of taking action which although essential would probably not be sanctioned at once by the country, and the restraining effect on undesirable action clamoured for during some wave of popular emotion. It is thus of the greatest importance to resist stoutly any attempt to further curtail the Royal prerogative, more especially since this country is not protected by a written constitution.

Section III.—The Cabinet

(*a*) The Prime Minister.

The Sovereign chooses the Prime Minister, who then proceeds to form a Ministry, and submits the names of those who are willing to serve under him for the Sovereign's approval. The office of Prime Minister dates from the time when the Monarch no longer attended Cabinet meetings and Walpole is usually regarded as the first to hold it, Queen Anne being the last Sovereign who presided at a Cabinet meeting. In the eighteenth century the Sovereign created anyone he wished Prime Minister, and the choice of Pitt must be regarded simply as a dangerous experiment, but one which, fortunately, was entirely successful. In this century, George III. could make or mar the fortunes of any statesman but nevertheless, since 1807, there has been only one instance in which a King dismissed his Prime Minister, and even in that case Lord Melbourne had practically offered to resign. In 1834, after Lord Althorp, the leader of the House of Commons, had succeeded to the

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peerage, Melbourne wrote to the King that the strength of the government, "mainly founded upon the personal weight and influence possessed by Earl Spencer in the House of Commons," was now withdrawn. "Viscount Melbourne earnestly entreats that no personal consideration for him may prevent your Majesty from taking any measures, or seeking any other advice which your Majesty may think more likely to conduce to your Majesty's service, and to the advantage of the country;" and William IV. answered that, under these circumstances, he "does not think it would be acting fairly or honourably by his lordship to call upon the Viscount for the continuance of his services in a position of which the tenure appears to the King so precarious."[1]

In the last century the resignation of the Prime Minister was as often due to a personal dispute with the King as with the majority of the House of Commons and Pitt resigned in 1800 because George III. would not consent to allow the question of Catholic Emancipation to be brought up in the Commons. Since then, with the exception of the case of Melbourne quoted above, and the dismissal of Lord Grenville in 1807, Ministers have only resigned when they found it impossible to carry on the Government, or when a majority was returned against them to the House of Commons. Formerly they waited for a vote of censure, but Disraeli introduced the custom of retiring at once when the result of the election was known. At the present time, the leader of the party which has a majority in the House of Commons is sent for by the Queen and commanded to form a Government but on

[1] "Peel Papers," edited by J. S. Parker, vol. ii. p. 254.

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some occasions the Prime Minister finds himself in a minority.

This was the fate of Disraeli in 1868, who was Minister for nine months with a liberal majority of one hundred and twenty against him, but such an anomalous condition of affairs can only happen when for some reason or other a Government is defeated, and it is not desirable to appeal at once to the country. The acceptance of office by the Prime Minister is conditional on his ability to find competent associates willing to serve with him. Although usually the choice is thus made easy for the Queen, there have been cases where the rival claimants have been so equally matched, or when certain statesmen have refused to act with others, that a great amount of discretion has been left to Her Majesty, but this point will be discussed later. The leader of the party, and thus the prospective Prime Minister, is chosen by the House of Commons, but lately we have had signs that this important function is likely to be interfered with by the Political Associations outside Parliament, which point we will also discuss later.

(*b*) The Cabinet vary in number, but always include the High Chancellor, the First Lord of the Treasury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Council, and the principal Secretaries of State. The members of the Cabinet are always Privy Councillors. The evolution of the Cabinet, as, indeed, that of the whole of our constitutional machine, has been gradual, and it is difficult to say when the Committee of Council definitely became known as the Cabinet; but about the beginning of the eighteenth century the term was used to denote that group of Privy Councillors

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with whom the King took counsel on affairs of State.

Mr Gladstone sums up the argument against the King's presence at Cabinet meetings in the following terms:—"The presence of the King at the Cabinet either means personal government—that is to say, the reservation to him of all final decisions which he may think fit to appropriate—or else the forfeiture of dignity by his entering upon equal terms into the arena of general, searching and sometimes warm discussions; nay, and even of voting, too, and of being out-voted; for, in Cabinets, and even in the Cabinets reputed best, important questions have sometimes been found to admit of no other form of decision."[1]

The Cabinet is practically responsible for the whole government of the country, although most important Executive acts may be done by the various administrative departments without calling a meeting. When the Prime Minister thinks it desirable to call together the members, he, or one of his private secretaries, issues a notice, requesting the attendance of Her Majesty's servants, and this is entirely a private note, and has not the ancient formality of the summons to the Privy Council. Bills introduced by the Government in the House of Commons are distinguished in several important respects from the private Bills introduced by members of Parliament who are not in the Cabinet.

"The Ministers of the Crown are entitled to its full confidence, and this means, first, that the Sovereign shall not seek or take advice from others in matters of State unknown to them; next,

[1] "Gleanings of Past Years," vol. i. p. 85.

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that he shall not give public expression to opinions on matters of State, unadvised by them; and, lastly, that he shall give them proof of his confidence by the acceptance of their advice, not only as to the measures of government, but in other ways, and especially as to the persons who shall fill offices in the Royal gift." [1]

The Ministers are responsible to Parliament and the people as advisers of the Crown. Any one of them may advise the Crown, and whoever does so is responsible to the country for the advice he has given.

In a criticism of a letter of the Prince Consort, in which he states that he regarded himself as the Queen's confidential adviser and permanent Minister, Mr Gladstone says: "Minister to the Queen he could not be, because his conduct was not within the reach and control of Parliament." [2]

If the Prime Minister differs from a colleague in the Cabinet, he cannot dismiss him, but can say that he will not serve with him, and then it becomes a question who shall resign, and the answer depends entirely upon the strength and popularity of the dissentient member.

In 1783, Pitt, the son, organised a Tory Government which was at first opposed by the House of Commons, but afterwards was supported, and the confidence of the Commons was in the year following ratified by the country. Again in 1834, Peel and Wellington were called to power by the King, against the wishes of the House. The doctrine has since grown up, that even if Ministers do possess the confidence of the House of Commons but not

[1] Anson: "Law and Customs of the Constitution," p. 125.
[2] Gladstone's "Gleanings of Past Years," vol. i. p. 37.

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that of the nation, it is the duty of the Crown to appeal to the country.

"The essential point to notice is that these contests each in effect admit the principle that it is the verdict of the political Sovereign which ultimately determines the right, or (what in politics is much the same thing) the power of a Cabinet to retain office, namely, the nation." [1]

The ultimate legal action of the House of Commons which disapproves of a Ministry is the refusal to pass the Army Acts, or to grant Supplies, but it has never been necessary to resort to either measure.

The Prime Minister is the usual mouth-piece of the Cabinet to the Sovereign, but any Minister has a right to communicate directly with him. All communications, whether home or foreign, must be sent to the Minister responsible, and despatches from abroad must always be sent to the Foreign Secretary, and not the Prime Minister, unless, of course, both offices are held by one individual.

The proceedings of the Cabinet are secret, and no minutes of any kind are now kept. Sir Robert Peel writes to Sir James Graham in 1848: "Can you give me any information with regard to a practice which certainly used to prevail in the earlier annals of Cabinet Councils, namely, the recording formally the opinions of the Minister present, either simply by way of record for their own satisfaction, or for the information of the Sovereign? I think I have heard you say that during Lord Grey's Government, minutes of Cabinet deliberations and decisions were occasionally made. The nearest approach to anything of the kind which I recollect was in 1829. I

[1] Dicey: "The Law of the Constitution," p. 361.

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prepared a memorandum, assigning my reasons for advising the King to permit the consideration of the Catholic question by his Government, with a view to its settlement. The King desired that all those of his Ministers who had theretofore resisted the Catholic claims should see this memorandum, and inform him whether they concurred in the advice given in it. But the communication took place individually, and not in the Cabinet."

Sir James Graham answers that during the discussion in the Cabinet, before the Reform Bill, minutes were often prepared by Lord Grey for the consideration of the King. Apparently in the Administration of Lord Grenville and Fox in 1805, this practice was very usual. After reading Sir James' letters, Prince Albert writes in November, 1848, that "the revival of such minutes upon important questions of the day, would be of the greatest use to the Crown. I have always felt it to be a source of great weakness for the Sovereign not to be allowed to follow the arguments which may have decided the Cabinet in coming to a conclusion upon the advice which they may give."[1]

The action of the Cabinet is now unanimous, but formerly the individual members were only independent heads of the departments.

In 1802 Pelham protested in writing against the minute of the Cabinet for signing the definite Treaty of Amiens. "Dissentient, because I think it necessary, for the security and interest of the Dominions, that before any definite treaty is signed, a satisfactory explanation should be required, both as to the objects of the different expeditions which

[1] "Sir Robert Peel," J. S. Parker, vol. iii. p. 499.

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have been fitted out for France without previous communication with this country, and as to the general views of the French Republic."[1]

Now, every action taken by the Government implies that each individual member approves of it, and if one of the Ministers dissents, it is his duty to retire from office. In some cases Ministers retire because they are unwilling to be a member of the Government which introduces a measure but will yet support it in the House of Commons. Mr Gladstone's resignation from the Cabinet during the Maynooth Bill was such an instance. As a rule, however, when Ministers resign, they either actively oppose the measure or remain neutral, and some may refuse office because, although willing to support a Government, they are unwilling to be members of it.

The Cabinet gives no orders but it settles what orders shall be given, and the Queen in Council converts them into commands, but Ministers do not initiate any important business, whether legislative or executive, without previous communication with the Sovereign.

Demands for public money are only made by Ministers and the Budget is prepared by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. All the revenue is paid into the Consolidated Fund at the Banks of England and Ireland, and from this fund nothing is paid except by Parliamentary Authority. When the authority of Parliament has been given, the Queen directs issues to be made in pursuance of it by an order to that effect countersigned by two Lords of the Treasury.

[1] "Life of Pitt," Lord Ashbourne, p. 270.

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This order empowers the Treasury to call upon the Comptroller and Auditor General to give to the Lords of the Treasury a credit on the Exchequer account at the Bank. The Bank transfers the sums to the Paymaster General, who distributes them to the departments. The Auditor General sees that the sums are so spent and reports the fact to the public accounts Committee of Parliament.

In this way every halfpenny of the public money is rigidly guarded from the possibility of misuse and the cycle completed from the time the House of Commons votes the supplies until it examines the manner in which they have been expended.

The Leader of the House of Commons who is always a Minister has to satisfy the constant demand for legislation, to answer questions, and to arrange the order of legislation, to see that the Budget and the Army Act pass in good time and generally to manage the business of the House.

Section IV.—The Privy Council

The Privy Council has ceased to be an advisory council of the Crown, but it still meets for the purpose of making Orders, issuing Proclamations, and attending at formal acts of State.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council when it gives judgment "humbly advises Her Majesty" that an appeal should be allowed or dismissed or a judgment varied. The members are nominated and can be dismissed by the Sovereign, and all lapse at his death unless renewed by the new occupant of the throne.

Orders in Council are multifarious in character.

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They confirm acts of colonial legislatures, give effect to treaties, grant charters to companies or municipal bodies, or regulate the business of the executive departments. Most of the old duties of the Privy Council are now transferred to governmental departments, and the Council acts as a rule, not on its own responsibility, but on that of the departments concerned.

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CHAPTER II

THE MINISTERS OF THE CROWN

Section I.—The Chief Executive Officers

I. The Chancellor.

This office dates back to the reign of Edward the Confessor,[1] but the almost fabulous British King Arthur is said to have appointed a Chancellor.[2] His powers and duties are briefly :—

1. Keeper of the Great Seal.

From the art of writing being little known the use of seals became common, but Edward the Confessor was the first to use one formally instead of signing documents.

As keeper of the Great Seal and as Head of the Crown Office in Chancery where the Seal is for most purposes affixed, the Chancellor is responsible for its use, and thus directly conveys the ultimate expression of the will of the Sovereign to the people.

2. Legal Duties.

The King in very early times appointed a secretary to help him decide controversies and remedy wrongs, and to frame writs and write letters in the King's name to the Judge by which means suits were instituted. This secretary was called the Chancellor, and the office in which he presided was the Chancery. At first he was a priest and the

[1] Stubbs : "Constitutional History."

[2] Campbell : "Lives of Chancellors," vol. i. p. 2.

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office rose into importance from the energy of A'Becket and others, but it was not until the reign of Edward I. that its supremacy was established.

The equitable jurisdiction of the Chancellor dates back to the reign of Richard II., and he is now a Lord Justice of the Court of Appeal, a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and one of the Peers who sits in judgment in cases of appeal to the House of Lords.

He is entrusted by sign manual warrant with the care of lunatics and the wardship of infants, and the care of their estates is reserved to the Chancery Division of the High Court by the Judicature Act, 1873. His jurisdiction in bankruptcy is now delegated to the High Court and County Court.

3. Patronage.

He is responsible for the appointment of the Judges of the High Court, of Justices of the Peace for the counties and boroughs acting on behalf of the Sovereign, but he appoints County Court Judges and presents to Crown livings of the value of £20 or less independently of the Crown.

4. Speaker in House of Lords.

"He certainly is *ex officio* Prolocutor or Speaker of the House of Lords, whether he be a peer or not. Without any commission or express authority for the purpose, he always presides there when present."[1]

5. He is always a member of the Privy Council, and as such has the right to advise the Crown in matters of state, and he is always in the Cabinet. He is thus a political officer and is appointed and retires with the Government.

6. He is Chancellor of Great Britain and there is

[1] Campbell: "Lives of Chancellors," vol. i. p. 14.

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only one Great Seal for England and Scotland. There is a Chancellor for Ireland, but the Great Seal, although it exists in duplicate for Irish use, is the Great Seal of the United Kingdom.

II. The Lord Privy Seal is a member of the Cabinet, but the duties in connection with the office of the Privy Seal were abolished in 1884.

Before giving a description of the powers and duties of the five Secretaries of State, it is necessary to state that, excepting in so far as a Statute gives powers to one or other, each may perform any of the functions of the various departments. Here, however, we shall only briefly describe the routine duties which are usually performed by each.

III. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

He is head of the Foreign Office which was created in 1782, and the members of which now consist of a Permanent Under Secretary, Assistant Under Secretaries, and a Parliamentary Under Secretary with a permanent staff of clerks and messengers for foreign and home service. Herein all the correspondence with Foreign Powers is conducted, the magnitude of which is very great. The Foreign Secretary must keep the Sovereign fully informed as to the nature of despatches received and sent (see *ante* p. 5) and must also be prepared to answer questions and criticism in Parliament. In the case of his being a peer the Under Secretary acts as his mouthpiece in the House of Commons. He chiefly determines the foreign policy which is to be pursued but the Cabinet shares the responsibility, and important decisions are not arrived at without consultation with the other Ministers.

He advises the Crown in the selection of ambassadors, charges d'affaires and plenipotentiaries, or

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may himself represent the Sovereign in international congresses. He is kept fully informed by the chanceries of the condition of politics abroad and receives and communicates with foreign Governments through the English Ministers abroad and the Foreign Ministers credited to England. In a general way it is not permissible for a State to refuse to receive a diplomatic agent from another power, which has the right to send one when it chooses. If, however, there are special reasons against the agent individually, or reasons to believe that his reception may be taken to imply acquiescence in claims inconsistent with rights belonging to the State to which he is sent, then he may be refused. England would not receive a legate or nuncio from the Pope when he was a temporary sovereign. The diplomatic agent is furnished with a letter of credence specifying his rank and bespeaking credit for what he will communicate in the name of his Government. The full powers to negotiate and sign treaties on specific occasions are conferred by letters patent. Except when an international contract is personally concluded by a sovereign or other person exercising the sole treaty making power of a State, or when it is made in virtue of power incidental to an official station and within the limits of that power, ratification by the supreme power of the State is necessary to its validity.[1]

Ratification may be withheld because the plenipotentiary exceeded his instructions, or because the new treaty conflicts with anterior obligations or is incompatible with the constitutional law of one of the contracting States.

[1] Hall: "International Law," p. 300.

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A State may dismiss a diplomatic agent either because it wishes to break off all friendly relations and enter upon a state of war or because he is personally disagreeable.

At the present time the public takes a keen interest in foreign affairs, and the Opposition in Parliament is always asking for information, so that it is necessary frequently to publish Blue Books detailing the steps which have been taken and the correspondence which has passed. This work of sorting out suitable documents for publication and editing them requires great care and circumspection, and forms not the least of the arduous functions of the Foreign Office.

IV. The Secretary of State for Home Affairs.

The Home Secretary is the official through whom communications pass between the Crown and subjects, both in the cases of private individuals and great corporations, and he is also the means of communication between the Crown and the Church. In most cases where the Sovereign's pleasure has to be expressed under the sign manual the Home Secretary has to countersign it.

He is responsible for the maintenance of the Queen's peace, and for this purpose is entitled to demand a portion of the sum available for secret service and may control the use of the telegraph, appoint special constables and call out the reserve forces.

He advises the Crown as to the frequency with which assizes should be held, and appoints Recorders for Quarter Sessions, Metropolitan Magistrates, and the Public Prosecutor and his staff.

His chief duties conferred by Act of Parliament, in the performance of which he is aided by a per-

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manent staff of clerks and inspectors, are shortly as follows :—

1. Police.

He draws up rules from time to time for the government, pay, clothing, accoutrements and necessaries of such constables as may be appointed under Act (2 & 3 Vict. c. 93) which also gives him the option of approving of the person appointed to be chief constable.

The Watch Committee of Borough Corporations has to send to him a copy of all rules made for the regulation and guidance of the borough constables (45 & 46 Vict. c. 50).

Separate police in places with more than 15,000 inhabitants are not to be superseded by the county police without the consent of the Secretary of State (19 & 20 Vict. c. 69).

At present country police are appointed and governed by the County Council and Justices of the Peace conjointly, and the borough police by the Corporation, both acting under rules drawn up by the Secretary of State.

In the Metropolis the Secretary of State has the power of doing anything required to be done whether authorised by a resolution or Act of the police authority or not (53 & 54 Vict. c. 45), and is responsible to Parliament for the efficiency and good conduct of the metropolitan police.

2. Mines.

All owners, agents and managers of mines have to submit to the Secretary of State the special rules which have been drawn up for such mines, and he has the power to object to the rules and suggest others, and if the owner, agent or manager objects to

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them the matter is referred to arbitration (50 & 51 Vict. c. 58).

He appoints and may remove inspectors of mines and assigns them their duties, and any order made or exemption granted by him under the Act (50 & 51 Vict. c. 58) may be revoked or altered by him either unconditionally or subject to such conditions as he may see fit, and such orders shall be signed by him or by the Under Secretary or Assistant Under Secretary.

3. Factory Acts.

The Secretary of State has power to enforce sanitary provisions in workshops and laundries; to direct formal investigation in case of accidents; to appoint, with the approval of the Treasury as to numbers and salaries, such inspectors and clerks and servants as he thinks necessary, and to make regulations to guide the inspectors in appointing a sufficient number of surgeons for the purposes of the Act (41 & 42 Vict. c. 16), (48 & 59 Vict. c. 37).

4. Explosives.

The Secretary of State may make, rescind, alter or add to byelaws for regulating the conveyance, loading or unloading of gunpowder, and all notices of accidents which occur in connection with any factory, magazine or store either by explosion or fire are to be sent to him (38 & 39 Vict. c. 17).

5. Prisons.

Her Majesty may at any time, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State, by warrant under her sign manual, appoint any number of persons, not exceeding five, to be Commissioners for the purpose of aiding the Secretary of State to carry into effect the provisions of the Prison Act, 1877.

The prisons, furniture and effects, and the appoint-

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ment of all officers and control of prisoners are vested in and exercised by the Secretary of State, who may make rules regulating the visiting committees of justices, appoint in any county a convenient prison or prisons in which prisoners are to be confined before or during their trial, and arrange what class of criminals shall be lodged in any prison and may remove them from one to another.

Sentences involving hard labour may in certain cases be relaxed by him, and he can draw up regulations as regards the classification and treatment of debtors and prisoners who are not criminals. He may visit or authorise the visitation of any prison under his jurisdiction.

6. He submits for the approval of Her Majesty in Council the byelaws passed by Municipal Corporations (45 & 46 Vict. c. 50) and County Councils (Local Government Act, 1888).

7. He recommends to the Lord Chancellor the Justices of the Peace for the boroughs.

8. He advises the Sovereign as to the exercise of the Royal prerogative of mercy.

V. The First Lord of the Treasury.

He is nearly always either the Prime Minister or the leader of the House of Commons. He nominates the Junior Lords and has a large patronage, but does not take part in the duties of the Treasury excepting when questions arise which the Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot settle. The Treasury Board, which consists of the First Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Junior Lords, does not now meet, and individuals are now personally responsible for business which is transacted under the general control of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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VI. The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

He is practically the Finance Minister and has a Board to support him. The estimates are supervised in the Treasury before they are presented to Parliament, and it is the duty of the department to see that no more money is asked for than is wanted, and that no more money is spent than has been authorised by Parliament. The Treasury exercises a general control over salaries and sees that work which is paid for is actually done. Proposals to raise or remit taxation are always presented by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Parliament. He is assisted by a Permanent Secretary and staff consisting of skilled experts who are familiar with the various expenditures of the departments of Government and who are accustomed to scrutinise accounts. He still appoints the Sheriffs for the counties.

VII. The Colonial Secretary.

The first Colonial Secretary was appointed in 1801 and was definitely described as the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, but was relieved of his duties in the department of war in 1854.

The staff of the Colonial Office at the present time consists of the Secretary of State and the Parliamentary Under Secretary who are politicians and change with the Government, and the Permanent Under Secretary, four Assistant Under Secretaries, a Legal Assistant, and a staff of clerks and messengers who do not change with the Ministry.[1]

The British Colonial Empire has an area of 9½ million square miles, which is about six times as large as was the Roman Empire during the period of its greatest prosperity. The population is, however,

[1] Colonial Office List, 1899.

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only twenty-four millions, but is rapidly increasing, and there are no less than forty distinct governments, all of which are more or less under the direct control of the Colonial Office and may be classified under four distinct headings—

(*a*) Self-governing Colonies with elected Legislative Councils and Ministers who are not only responsible to the Crown but also to their legislatures. There are eleven such colonies, Canada, Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Newfoundland, New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria and Western Australia, and their total area is seven million square miles, while their total population is about twelve millions.

(*b*) In nine colonies the Legislative Council is partly elected—

The Crown has reserved power of legislating by order in Council in British Guiana, Malta, Mauritius (including Seychelles).

The Crown has no general power of legislating by order in Council in the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Jamaica, Leeward Islands.

Cyprus has a similar Legislative Council but is not a British Possession.

(*c*) In sixteen colonies the Legislative Council is nominated by the Crown, and the Crown has reserved the power of legislating by order in Council —British New Guinea, Ceylon, Falklands, Fiji, Ganibia, Gold Coast, Grenada, Hong Kong, Lagos, St Lucia, St Vincent, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago, Turks Islands.

(*d*) Four colonies have no Council, and the legislative powers are delegated to the officer administrating the Government. The Crown has reserved

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the power of legislating by order in Council in Gibraltar, Labuan and St Helena, but in Basutoland there is no such reserved power.[1]

Besides these there are a number of scattered dependencies which do not possess regularly formed administrations and vast territories controlled by High Commissioners or Chartered Companies, or which are otherwise in a position of dependency to the British Empire. Such are British Central Africa, and the territories controlled by the North Borneo Company, and the Royal Niger Company. The Somali (North East Africa) Protectorate, Zanzibar, the East Africa Protectorate and Uganda are under the supervision of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Aden, Perim, Socotra, the Laccadive, Nicobas and Andaman are administered by the Secretary of State for India, and Ascension and Wei-hai-wei are under the Admiralty.

The main principles, however, apply to all, that the Crown in Parliament can make laws which are binding on any part of the Queen's dominions, and that no colony can make a law intended to bind the colony which is repugnant to any Act of Parliament. The Crown in Council or the Crown acting through the Colonial Governor can veto all Colonial legislation, and even if the Governor assents to any Bill he must at once report it to the Secretary of State for the colonies who may advise the Crown to disallow it. The Colonial Secretary in some cases has carried on negotiations with Foreign States regarding their relationships with the colonies. Through the courtesy of Mr Secretary Chamberlain I am permitted to give the following authoritative

[1] Colonial Office List Introduction, 1899.

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statement as to the present practice, "with the exception of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, communications with which are made through the Colonial Secretary and the High Commissioner for South Africa, negotiations with Foreign Countries in regard to their relations with the Colonies, as in regard to other matters, are generally conducted by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, though in one or two rare instances, as in the case of the State of Johore, an agreement has been made on behalf of Her Majesty by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and in others negotiations have been carried on with the consent of Her Majesty's Government directly between Colonies and Foreign States without the intervention of either the Foreign or the Colonial Secretary."[1]

The Colonial Governor.

He is appointed by commission and is limited as to his powers by letters patent and instructions. He convokes and prorogues legislative assemblies and his assent is necessary to Bills passed by the Colonial legislatures. He initiates legislation in colonies which have no elected legislature, issues warrants for the expenditure of public money, and appoints and dismisses all public servants, absolutely or provisionally on the approval of the Crown, according to his instructions or the terms of the local law, but in colonies which possess responsible government he acts with the advice of his Council. He can pardon or respite criminals convicted in colonial courts.

VIII. The Secretary of State for India.

He is appointed by the Crown on the advice of the Prime Minister, and himself appoints the fifteen

[1] Letter dated April 19th, 1899.

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members of the Council of India, nine of whom must have served or resided in India for ten years within ten years of their appointment, and they hold office for ten years subject to removal by address of both Houses of Parliament. The Council meets once a week, but the Secretary of State may summon it when and as often as he pleases. Orders or communications proposed to be sent to India, and orders made in the United Kingdom under the Act which provides for the better government of India, must either be brought before the Council at a meeting, or laid on its table for seven days for perusal, but the Secretary of State may, in many cases, override his Council, and need not submit to it secret or urgent orders.

The Secretary of State in Council appoints, promotes, or removes members of the India Office on his own discretion, but he cannot grant or appropriate any part of the Indian revenues, or borrow money without the consent of a majority of the Council. In certain matters, such as the expenditure of Indian revenues for military purposes beyond the frontier, the action of the Secretary of State and the Council is not valid unless it is sanctioned by the Imperial Parliament.

The Queen appoints, under the sign manual, the Governor-General of India, the Governors of Madras and of Bombay, with the members of their Councils, and the Judges of the High Courts of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and the North-West Provinces, and all other Indian appointments, unless otherwise provided for, are vested in the Queen, acting on the advice of the Secretary of State.

The Governor-General of India.

He can make war and peace, but an order

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to commence hostilities must be made known to Parliament within three months; he may in Council constitute new provinces by proclamation, but his orders cannot be enforced until the sanction of the Queen has been conveyed to him by the Secretary of State, whose orders he must always obey.

Indian legislation is effected by the Governor-General and his Council, but he may refuse his assent to a measure passed by the majority, or reserve it until the Queen has signified her assent, and any law may be disallowed by the Crown, or can be reversed by the Imperial Parliament.

IX. The Secretary for War.

In 1888 the business of the War Office was grouped by order in Council into two departments—(1) Military, under the Commander-in-Chief; (2) Finance, under a Financial Secretary, both under the ultimate control of the Secretary of State, who is responsible for everything in connection with the army, and its uses in war and peace. He has to account to Parliament for the maintenance of discipline and good conduct, for the methods of conducting war, both from a political, and from a military standpoint, for the state of the forts, ordnance and commissariat, and for the finance of the army. In 1895 a Government was defeated because the Secretary of State for War had allowed the store of ammunition to fall below a certain level, and this proves that, legally, he can be called to account for any trivial error of administration.

In practice he is assisted by a Parliamentary Under-Secretary, a Financial Secretary, and the Commander-in-Chief. The functions of the Commander-in-Chief

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relate to the command, discipline, and distribution of the army, the enlistment, education, training, and discharge of soldiers, and the appointment and promotion of officers. Formerly he was responsible also for the commissariat, clothing, ordnance, buildings, and transport, while the Financial Secretary proposed expenditure in the annual estimates, audited accounts, issued warrants for payment of money, and controlled the manufacturing departments and contracts.

In 1895 the responsibility for supplying the army with warlike stores was imposed upon the Director of Artillery, although the control of the factories by which the stores were mainly produced, remained in the hands of the Financial Secretary. This anomaly was rectified in 1899, when the Director-General of Ordnance was charged with supplying the army with warlike stores, equipment and clothing, and was invested also with the direction of the manufacturing departments of the army. To the Financial Secretary now remains "financial control" only.

The organisation of the War Office undergoes more changes than any other Government office, and shows signs of still developing.

X. The First Lord of the Admiralty.

He is responsible to the Crown and Parliament for everything connected with the navy. The Admiralty is a distinct department, constituted by letters-patent, and is not, like the War Office, the concentration in one Minister of the responsibility for the exercise of the Royal prerogative in respect to the army. The Admiralty Board consists of the First Lord, four Naval Lords, and a Civil Lord, and meets once a week, when the technical experts advise the First Lord. Its duties comprise the build-

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ing, arming and victualling of the fleet, the giving all orders, the conferring of offices and appointments, the superintending of arsenals, dockyards, and naval hospitals, and the making of all contracts.

In 1890 a Committee of the Cabinet was formed, consisting of the Prime Minister, the Parliamentary heads of the two services, the First Lord of the Treasury, and the Colonial Secretary, which settles matters in which a joint naval and military policy is required, and such questions as are unsettled between the two departments.

XI. The Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

Although in theory the Executive Government of Ireland is conducted by the Lord-Lieutenant in Council, subject to instructions from the Home Office, the main burden of the work and responsibility rests on the shoulders of the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant. He is responsible for the Local Government of the country, and performs practically similar duties to those of the Home Secretary in England. If a member of the Cabinet, he helps to settle the policy to be adopted for Ireland, and usually brings in the Bills which the Government agree upon. Ireland has its own Chancellor, Law officers and Courts, but the Chief Secretary is ultimately responsible to the Queen and country for the maintenance of order and the execution of justice.

XII. The Secretary for Scotland.

Some of the powers and duties of the Home Secretary, the Privy Council, the Treasury, the Local Government Board, and the Education Department, were assigned in 1885 to the Secretary

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for Scotland. He keeps the Great Seal of Scotland, is appointed by warrant under the Royal Sign-manual, and is usually in the Cabinet.

Section II.—The Administrative Departments

These consist of the Post Office, the Local Government Board, the Boards of Trade, Agriculture, and Works, and the Education Department.

The Boards do not meet in any case, and the Heads of the Departments are political officers who are always Ministers and frequently in the Cabinet. They are responsible to Parliament for everything in connection with their Departments, but are assisted by a permanent staff of officials who are chosen by competitive examination. It is perhaps a suitable place here to give a short account of the Civil Service, which is composed of men of good social position and education, who are paid at the rate a man of average ability and little capital would expect to earn in such a profession as the law or medicine, which is, of course, much higher than the pay of an officer in the navy or army of the same number of years' standing.

They must give their whole time to their duties, are not allowed to engage in any other occupation, and are not eligible for a seat in Parliament. The whole of the routine work devolves upon these officials, and the instinct for a continuity of customs is early instilled into them. But besides the Civil Service clerks, the ever increasing supervision exercised by the State has called into being classes of experts in Public Health, Mines, Factories, Engineering, Education, and other technicalities,

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who perform the important function of inspectors and advisers to the various Government Departments.

I. The Post Office.

The Postmaster-General is a political officer appointed from time to time by letters-patent under the great seal. He has a very extensive patronage at his disposal, but his powers are very precisely defined by Statutes, and wherever the revenue would be affected by any action of the Post Office, the Treasury must be first consulted. His power to fix rates of postage, to arrange contracts for conveyance of mails by packet, and to regulate the Post Office Savings Banks and money orders, are subject to the approval of the Treasury, and it is as a politician in Parliament alone that he can introduce new methods for the conduct of his business. He is responsible to Parliament for everything connected with the carrying of letters and goods by post, the telegraphs, the savings banks, and money orders, and for generally conducting the business of the Post Office, both with a view to the public convenience and as an important source of revenue to the Crown.

II. The Local Government Board.

This Board was constituted in 1871 by Act (34 & 35 Vict. c. 70), which vests in it certain functions of the Secretary of State and Privy Council concerning the Public Health and Local Government, together with the powers and duties of the Poor Law Board. It consists of a President and a Permanent Staff, and its functions are as follows :—

All the powers and duties vested in one of Her

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Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State and Privy Council in the several Acts relating to—

Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages;
Public Health;
Local Government;
Drainage Sanitary Matters;
Baths and Wash houses;
Public Improvements;
Towns Improvements;
Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings;
Returns, Local Taxation;
Prevention of Diseases;
Vaccination;

are transferred and imposed upon the Local Government Board.

Generally speaking, the Local Government Board possesses the power of controlling and limiting the actions of the local authorities elected by the popular vote, and also may supervise and enforce the carrying out of the provisions of the Acts relating to Local Government. The manner in which this power is exercised may be conveniently stated under headings.

1. Definitions of Areas.

The Local Government Board may alter the boundaries of local government areas on the representation of a council of any county or borough that it is desirable, but may not alter the area of any borough or county without the consent of Parliament.

2. Rules for elections. Guardians are elected under rules drawn up by the Local Government Board (Act 94).[1]

[1] The figures in brackets refer to the year in which the Local Government Act granting the power was passed.

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3. The number of county councillors and the boundaries of the electoral divisions are determined by the Local Government Board (88).

4. Inspection of Accounts. The Town Clerk shall make a return to the Local Government Board of the receipts and expenditure of the Municipal Corporation for each financial year, and the Local Government Board shall prepare an abstract of the return and it shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament (45 & 46 Vict. c. 50). Where any return relative to any rate, toll, tax, or due, raised in England (other than such as is raised for public revenue of the United Kingdom) is required to be sent to one of the Secretaries of State, a duplicate must be sent to the Local Government Board (34 & 35 Vict. c. 70).

5. Powers to allow money to be borrowed by local authorities. County Councils may borrow money with consent of Local Government Board (88), and Parish Councils may borrow money with consent of County Council and Local Government Board. District Councils may borrow with consent of Local Government Board (94).

6. Election of Officials. District Councils may appoint Medical Officers of Health, Surveyors, Inspectors of Nuisances, clerks, and treasurers subject to the approval of the Local Government Board.

7. Power to delegate duties from one authority to another. The Board can transfer to County Councils such powers of Quarter Sessions, Justices, the Privy Council, the Secretaries of State, the Board of Trade, the Local Government Board, and the Education Department, as appear to be within the administration of the County.

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8. Power to form joint committees of Councils for special purposes.

It may constitute a joint committee of County Councils through which a river passes to enforce the River Pollution Prevention Act.

9. Respecting the acquisition of land by local authorities, Parish Councils may let, sell, or exchange land or buildings, but must obtain the consent of the Local Government Board if such land has been acquired at the expense of any rate (94). The Board can make order under certain circumstances enabling Parish Councils to acquire land for purposes of allotments.

10. The Local Government Board may constitute any local authority whose district forms part of, or abuts on, any part of a port in England a "port sanitary authority."

11. Powers of Inspection.

The Board may make such inquiries, as directed by the Act of 1875, in regard to the public health of any place, or any matters with respect to which their sanction, approval, or consent is required. The Inspectors have similar powers as regards witnesses, accounts, and inspection, as those which poor law inspectors have under the Acts, relating to the relief of the poor for the purposes of those Acts.

12. Provisional Orders made by the Local Government Board under the Act of 1875 must be confirmed by Parliament before they have any force.

13. If a local authority be at default the Local Government Board may appoint some person to do the neglected duty, and charge the authority with the expense incurred.

14. "The Local Government Board may, on the

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application of the local authority of any district, by provisional order, wholly or partially, repeal or amend any local Act, other than an Act for the conservancy of rivers, which is in force in any area comprising the whole or part of any such district, and not conferring powers or privileges on any persons or person for their or his own pecuniary benefit, which relates to the same subject matters as this Act" (75).

All the powers and duties of the Poor Law Board are now performed by the Local Government Board, who publish the statistics relating to the raising and expenditure of the Poor Rate, and the number and condition of paupers in the country.

III. The Board of Works.

This was created in 1851, and consists of a First Commissioner, the Secretaries of State, and the President of the Board of Trade. The Board never meets and the First Commissioner thus has charge of the royal palaces, parks, and some of the public buildings.

IV. The Board of Trade.

This was founded in 1862 for the purpose of performing the duties hitherto belonging to the Committee of the Council on Trade. It consists of a President, a Parliamentary Secretary, and a Permanent Secretary and Staff and its chief functions are the—

1. Collecting and publishing statistics relating to trade;
2. Charge of the Standard weights and measures;
3. Supervision of railways;
4. Superintendence of merchant seamen, shipping and fisheries:

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5. Regulation of piers and harbours in conjunction with the Admiralty and the Treasury;

6. Regulation of trading companies;

7. Administration of laws relating to patents and copyrights;

8. Control of the Trinity House and Commissioners for Lighthouses;

9. Control of Life Assurance Companies;

10. Administration of the Bankruptcy Laws.

V. The Education Department.

This consists of the Lord-President of the Council as its head, a Vice-President, both of whom are political officers, a Committee of the Privy Council and a Permanent Staff.

Its chief duties are conferred by Statute (33 & 34 Vict. c. 75) and comprise the formation of School Boards where necessary, or in case of default the performance of their duties itself, the uniting of districts for school board purposes, the appointment of inspectors, the examining and if necessary vetoing the byelaws made by the School Boards. Returns must be made to the Department containing such particulars with respect to the elementary schools as it may require.

During the session of 1899 a Bill was passed through Parliament creating an Education Department which, in the words of the Duke of Devonshire, who introduced the Bill "shall be able to take cognisance of, and be competent to deal with, the general progress of secondary education as it may occur."

The general provisions of the Bill are the consolidation of the central control of any local bodies for the administration of secondary education which

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may afterwards be formed, the formation of a consultative committee of general and educational experts to discuss the best form of secondary education to be adopted, and the inspection of all schools which come under the Bill.

VI. The Board of Agriculture.

This consists of a President who is a political officer, a Board which never meets and a permanent staff. Its powers are derived from various Acts relating to, Inclosures and Copyhold, Metropolitan Commons, Public Money, Drainage and Improvement Acts, Contagious Diseases in Animals, and the Muzzling of Dogs. The Commutation of tithe forms part of its duties.

The Board was formed in 1889 and took over the duties of a body of Commissioners who were not represented in Parliament. It collects and publishes valuable statistics relating to the areas of land occupied with grazing and crops, the numbers of live stock, the prices of home and imported corn, and meat, and other information relating to agriculture and forestry.

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CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH AND THE LAW COURTS

THE machinery for inculcating and enforcing rules for public and private conduct is comprised in the various Churches and Sects and the Law Courts. The former are also concerned with spiritualistic beliefs which we shall consider in the second part of this work, and merely describe here the framework of the Church as established by law. Although the Irish Church, the Free Church of Scotland and the various Nonconformist bodies are not established churches, and although each can determine its own doctrine, ritual and government, any one or all of them could, if necessary, be declared illegal and suppressed by Act of Parliament. The Church of England, on the other hand, is a State Church, wherein the government, ritual and doctrine can not only be suppressed by Law, but have actually been created or sanctioned by the Legislature.

The first class of bodies are thus private societies making their own laws which are not interfered with so long as the sense of public decorum and order is not offended, while the Established Church is as much a part of the official State as the Law, the Army, or the Navy.

The points of similarity indeed between the Church and the Law are so marked that it is interesting before proceeding to consider them.

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1. The Sovereign is Head of the Church and the Fountain Head of Justice.

2. Both Bishops and Judges are appointed by the Sovereign, the former on the advice of the Prime Minister, and the latter on the advice of the Chancellor.

3. Both Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws, in order to be binding on the people, must be accepted or created by the Legislature and sanctioned by the Crown.

4. Both Bishops and Judges are required to administer the Law of the Realm and are not allowed to depart from it.

5. The object of the Church and the Law is to promote right living, the one by inculcating high ideals of conduct and the other by enforcing the carrying out of fair contracts and by punishing acts which injure others, either as private individuals or as units of the Community.

Section I.—The Church

I. Territorial Division.

The whole of England is divided into two Provinces, York and Canterbury, the first containing nine bishoprics and the Archiepiscopal diocese of York, and the latter twenty-four bishoprics with the Archiepiscopal diocese of Canterbury. Each diocese is divided into arch deaconries and rural deaneries for purposes of administration and judicature, and the smallest subdivision is the Parish, the ancient township of Saxon times.

II. Officers of the Church and their functions.

(*a*) The Archbishops and Bishops are nominated by the Crown and elected by the Dean and Chapter,

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which election is signified by the King's letters-patent to the Archbishop, or if it be an Archbishop to the other Archbishop and two or four bishops who are required to confirm, invest and consecrate the person so elected, after which ceremonies the Bishop elect makes oath to the King and none other. If the Dean and Chapter do not elect, or the Bishop refuses to confirm, they shall incur all the penalties of a praemunire.

The functions of an Archbishop.

1. He crowns the Sovereign of the Kingdom.

2. He inspects the bishops and clergy of his province.

3. He confirms the election of bishops and consecrates them.

4. On receipt of the King's writ, he calls the bishops and clergy to convocation, but he cannot assemble them without a writ.

5. He hears all appeals from inferior ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

6. During the vacancy of any See he is the guardian of the spiritualities.

7. He is entitled to present by lapse to any living in the disposal of his bishops which is not filled in six months.

8. By statute, he has the power of granting dispensation to a clergyman to hold two livings.

The functions of a Bishop.

1. He ordains priests and deacons.

2. He consecrates churches and inspects the manners of the clergy, for which purpose he may visit every part of his diocese.

3. He directs induction to all livings in his dioceses and licenses perpetual curacies.

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4. He is an ecclesiastical judge, and first issues a commission of inquiry into the case, and if he finds sufficient reason he holds a court assisted by three assessors.

(*b*) The Dean and Chapter, consisting of canons, are the Council of the Bishop, and assist him with advice in temporal and spiritual affairs.

The Dean is elected by the Crown and must have been a priest for six years.

(*c*) The Archdeacon has jurisdiction immediately subordinate to the Bishop and has a separate Court.

(*d*) Rural Deans have a certain limited power of inspection of buildings.

(*e*) Rectors are those holding non-appropriated livings with exclusive title to all emoluments.

Vicars do the spiritual work for those appropriators who are laymen.

(*f*) Curates are unbeneficed, but they must be in orders and licensed by a bishop or archbishop.

(*g*) Churchwardens are always lay persons, and are the guardians of the fabric and furniture of the churches.

III. Of the Endowments and Provisions of the Church.

These consist of land, advowsons and tithes, and if any disputes arise between the societies and the tenants they may be referred to arbitration. The incumbent must keep his house in repair, and in rectories, the chancel and the churchyard are the freehold of the rector, while in vicarages the churchyard and the chancel are the freehold of the impropriator. The disposal of pews and seats in churches appertains to the churchwardens.

An advowson is the right of presentation to a

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rectory, vicarage, or other ecclesiastical benefice, and it may be possessed by corporations, lords of manor, or private persons, but no alien or Roman Catholic can present to a living, and if the former owns a living, the Crown presents, if the latter, the Universities present. When the patron fails to present, the presentation accrues to the Ordinary, and if the Ordinary fails, it accrues to the Metropolitan, and if he fails, to the Crown.

If a corrupt presentation for money, or otherwise, is made, it is known as Simony, and both patron and presentee are fined, and the presentation lapses to the Crown.

Tithes, which date from A.D. 786, are the tenth part of the increase yearly arising upon lands and on the personal industry of the inhabitants of the parish, and they may be held by clergy or laymen in the capacity of impropriators. They are the only general liability enforced by law, and are now commuted into a tithe rent charge.

The Ecclesiastical Commission is a body which manages the Episcopal and capitular estates, and may lease Church or glebe lands, and otherwise adjust the revenues of the Church to its requirements.

The incumbent may now, with due notice to the Bishop and the patron, and with the approval of the Land Commissioners, procure a sale of glebe lands.

IV. The Doctrine and Ritual of the Church.

So long as the spiritual supremacy of the Pope was acknowledged, the ecclesiastical authorities regulated the faith, ceremonies and discipline, of the Church. Nevertheless, although appeals from

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the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts were frequently carried to Rome, the appellate jurisdiction of the Pope was not recognised by the State, unless it was agreeable to the King and authorised by him. At the Reformation it was found necessary to resort to the legislature for an authoritative exposition of the true Protestant faith, so the Articles of Faith were framed by Cranmer in the reign of Edward VI., and reduced to their present form in 1562, and neither the Articles nor the Book of Common Prayer can be altered, except by the Crown in Parliament. The Crown's supremacy was established during the reign of Elizabeth, by Statute, and the Sovereign takes an oath to maintain the National Religion.

At first the Church of England was very intolerant, and as early as the fifth year of the reign of Edward VI., non-conformity was made a highly penal offence, liable to imprisonment, and a fine of 12d was imposed for non-attendance at church, but the Puritans set this at defiance, and seceded, forming the Dissenters. During the reign of Charles II. an Act of Uniformity enacted that the Book of Common Prayer should be used in every place of worship, but after the Revolution, more liberal legislation commenced, and Toleration Acts were passed during the reigns of William and Mary, and the Georges.

At the present time, members of any sect enjoy all civil rights, can hold any office, except a few of the higher government appointments, and for the Christian oaths can be substituted affirmation.

The Convocations are prorogued and dissolved by writs issued under the Great Seal, the Bishops

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forming the Upper House, and the Deans, Archdeacons, and Proctors, the Lower House.

The legislative powers of Convocation are restricted to the making, repealing or altering of canons, and the effect of these canons, unless Parliament affirms them, is to bind the clergy only, but, in any case, the Crown must first give permission to amend the canons, and any alterations made must then be submitted to, and approved by, the Crown.

These Ecclesiastical Laws are enforced by—

V. The Ecclesiastical Courts.

(*a*) The lowest is the Archdeacons' Court, wherein matters connected with the repair of church buildings are dealt with.

(*b*) The Court of the Bishop or Consistory Court.

Here offences against the Ecclesiastical Laws by persons in orders are dealt with. The Bishop tries the case himself, with three assessors, or he may send it on to—

(*c*) The Provincial Court, or Court of the Archbishop.

The Archbishops of Canterbury and York may appoint, subject to the approval of Her Majesty, a barrister of not less than ten years' standing to be judge of this Court.

It deals with all cases arising from alteration in the fabrics, ornaments, or furniture of the Church, or from unlawful ornaments used by the minister, or from failure of the incumbent to observe the rites, ceremonials, and services ordered in the Book of Common Prayer, either by adding to, altering, or omitting portions from such services. (37 & 38 Vict. c. 85).

The initiative of all proceedings must be taken

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by the Archdeacon, the churchwarden, or three parishioners of the parish in which the alleged offence has taken place. The Bishop may stop further proceedings, or hear the case himself, but otherwise, it is transmitted to this Court.

The ultimate appeal in all Ecclesiastical cases is heard before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Section II.—The Civil Courts

The composition and chief functions of the Courts as they now exist, are as follows :—

I. Courts of Final Appeal.

These consist of the Crown in Parliament, or, in other words, the House of Lords, and the Crown in Council, or the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

1. In the House of Lords, appeals are heard before the Lord Chancellor, the four Lords of Appeal, who are elected by letters-patent, are Barons for life, and must either have had fifteen years' practice at the Bar, or have been a judge for two years, and any peer of Parliament who has held judicial office. These constitute the Lords of Appeal, and no appeal may be heard unless three of them are present.

Criminal jurisdiction is practically excluded from this Court, and the House of Lords gives judgment as part of the business of the House.

2. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council consists of the Chancellor, the Lords of Appeal and such members of the Privy Council as hold or have held high judicial office.

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On Ecclesiastical Appeals, such Archbishops and Bishops as are Privy Councillors are now Assessors.

The Judicial Committee does not give judgment, but states the reasons which determine them "to humbly advise" the Queen to give effect to their decisions. The Court does not deal with Criminal jurisdiction and is chiefly occupied with Indian and Colonial cases.

II. The Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court is divided into a High Court and a Court of Appeal. The High Court is again divided into—

(*a*) The Chancery;

(*b*) The Queen's Bench;

(*c*) The Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty.

The Chancery judges consist of the Lord Chancellor and five judges.

The Queen's Bench contains the Lord Chief Justice of England and fourteen judges.

The Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty has but two judges.

The functions and powers of these various courts are briefly as follows—

The Chancery.

All the judicial duties of the old Courts of Equity and Chancery except appeals from County Courts and all causes and matters for any of the following purposes—

The Administration of the estates of deceased persons;

The dissolution of partnerships or the taking of partnerships or other accounts;

The redemption and foreclosure of mortgages;

The raising of portions or other charges on land;

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The sale and distribution of the proceeds of property subject to any lien or charge;
The execution of trusts charitable or private;
The rectification, the setting aside, or cancellation of deeds and other written instruments;
The specific performance of contracts between vendors and purchasers of real estate including contracts for leases;
The partition or sale of real estates;
The wardship of infants and the care of infants' estates.[1]

The function of the Chancery was to enforce the carrying out of undertakings and to prevent wrong being done; "where it was desired to enforce the performance of a contract, or to set aside a transaction induced by fraud, or to compel one who had undertaken the conscientious obligations of a trustee to carry out the terms of his trust the Chancery was the resort of the suitor."[2]

The Queen's Bench.

In 1881 the Courts of Common Pleas and the Exchequer Division were merged into the Queen's Bench.

The Common Bench or Pleas took cognizance of all actions between subject and subject. The Court of Exchequer dealt with the rights of the Crown against the subject.

The Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty.

The functions of this Court are sufficiently indicated by its name.

By the Act (45 & 47 Vict. c. 52) the London Bankruptcy Court was merged into the High Court

[1] 36 & 37 Vict. c. 66.
[2] Anson: "Law and Customs of the Constitution," vol. ii. p. 436.

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and assigned to such division of the High Court as the Lord Chancellor may from time to time direct. A judge is assigned by the Lord Chancellor to deal with matters in this Court.

3. The Court of Appeal consists of the Master of the Rolls and five Lord Justices.

It has an appellate jurisdiction in civil cases from decisions of the High Court, and, where error of law appears in the record, in criminal cases. It has also an appellate jurisdiction in cases outside the High Court in matters of lunacy, and of bankruptcy.

Assizes

The judges periodically go on circuit and their powers are the same as though they were sitting at the High Court.

Her Majesty, by commission of assize or by any other commission, either general or special, may assign to any judge or judges of the High Court of Justice, or other person usually named in commission of assize, the duty of holding and judging at assizes (36 & 37 Vict. c. 66).

The Queen by order in Council has power to alter circuits in order to group counties conveniently for the purpose of Winter and Spring Assizes (38 & 39 Vict. c. 77).

The Queen by order in Council on the recommendation of the Chancellor and certain of the judges has the power to make rules regulating the pleadings, practice, and procedure of the Supreme Court. Rules thus made are laid before both Houses of Parliament and come into force unless, within forty days, either House requests the Queen to annul them.

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III. Courts of Inferior Jurisdiction.

1. County Courts.

The judges are appointed and may be dismissed by the Lord Chancellor who, with the rule committee of judges, draws up rules for their procedure. Her Majesty in Council may alter the place of holding of any Court, order the discontinuance of the holding of any Court, consolidate any two or more districts, or divide any district, and order by what name, and in what towns and places, a court shall be held in such district. The function of the County Court is to recover debts and demands. An appeal lies from their decision to the High Court of Justice (51 & 52 Vict. c. 43).

2. Criminal Courts.

The jurisdiction in the inferior criminal courts are those of the justices of the peace exercising summary jurisdiction or trying offences at Quarter Sessions. The county Justice of the Peace must own or occupy land or a dwelling worth £100 a-year, and is chosen by the Lord Chancellor on the recommendation of the Lord-Lieutenant of the County, but the borough Justice of the Peace is chosen on the recommendation of the Home Secretary.

Summary jurisdiction rests entirely on Statute and must be exercised by two justices sitting together.

Some offences can only be tried at Quarter Sessions with a jury, and in other cases the accused must be committed for trial at Assizes.

In some cases an appeal lies from a Court of summary jurisdiction to Quarter Sessions or directly to the High Court.

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CHAPTER IV

THE PARLIAMENT

Section I.—Historical

It is impossible to understand the powers and work of the legislative body without some acquaintance with its history but here we must confine ourselves to a brief epitome of the chief events affecting its long lifetime of six hundred years.

In 1258 the Barons and Clergy assembled Parliament, and passed the Provisions of Oxford, which required that a Council of Fifteen should aid the King in making laws, but owing to the arrogance of the Barons, Edward II. was compelled to call a full Parliament to restrain them and laws were enacted that matters of Government should thereafter be conducted only in Parliament. During the next reign the Parliament was divided into Lords and Commons, and the latter held the first place in voting supplies. Richard II. instituted an important principle when he required the Ministers to lay down office upon the assembling of Parliament, so that the latter could accuse them of malfeasance in office if they had cause. In order that the country should really choose its representatives, laws were passed during the reign of Henry IV. preventing the King and Sheriffs simply naming the members of Parliament, or interfering with the free choice of the County Courts and the Commons at

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this time claiming the sole right of controlling all money bills, the King yielded to them. Henry V. promised that "nothing be enacted to the petition of his Commons that be contrarie of their asking, whereby they should be bound without their assent." In the reign of Henry VI. Parliament adopted the rule of introducing and passing Bills through both Houses before presenting them to the King, and by the time of Henry VII. Parliamentary procedure had assumed its present form. During this reign there was a rebellion in Cornwall against the attempt to collect a subsidy which had been regularly voted by Parliament, and taxation appeared to be the only point which the masses considered worth fighting about, although the rich were, in proportion to their means, quite as heavily taxed by means of the Star Chamber. Henry VIII. ruled with a firm hand, and used the Commons to pass laws and to set up courts. Although at first supporting the Pope, who gave him the title of Defender of the Faith, the King veered round when the people became inundated with Lutheranism, and supported the Reformation. The Law Courts at this time decided that Parliament should not condemn a culprit without recording some offence against him, and ruled that an Act of Parliament could not be called in question in a court of law. The King was made head of the Church, which was re-organised by Statute, and the Doctrine and Ritual were put upon a legal basis.

During the reign of Edward VI. the Parliaments were packed for the purpose of supporting Protestantism, and persecuting those who refused to support the new religion. Queen Elizabeth at first

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found England equally divided into Protestant and Romanist camps, but the prejudices against Mary, Queen of Scots and the French, the invasion of the Armada, the murder of Darnley, and the rooted aversion of the English to Papal interference, all caused a strong wave of Protestant reaction against the policy of Queen Mary.

During this reign, Parliament became very powerful, and the influence of public opinion, which was roused by the knowledge disseminated by printing and literature, became a strong feature of Government. All the feudal law had disappeared, and had been replaced by law courts, and the old system of land tenure had been superseded by contracts between landlord and tenant.

In 1598, the Court of Requests, which was a judicial part of the Privy Council, and tried matters referred to it by the Council, was adjudged to be "no Court that had power of judicature." The Tudors proceeded on the principle of counteracting the power of the great lords, by encouraging the support of the country gentlemen, lawyers and merchants, and they were very careful not to offend the masses.

James I. upheld the doctrine of divine right, which shocked the people, and was regarded as implying that the King could rule without the Parliament, but the Commons maintained that the Parliament consisted of the King, Lords, and Commons, and was the sole agency for voting supplies. The result was that the Parliament won the confidence of the masses, and the King became very unpopular. But the Courts maintained that the absolute power of the King extended to foreign affairs, and allowed him to place a duty on imports of currants, but they

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declared it illegal to punish anyone in the Star Chamber who was not punishable in the ordinary Courts. The people at this period showed a tendency to divide into Puritans and Churchmen while the Presbyterians maintained that all men were equal before God, and made an elected assembly of the clergy the visible expression of God's Government on earth. The Episcopacy, on the other hand, supported the Monarchy, because the Bishops, under the Tudor monarchs, were subservient to the Kings.

In 1628, during the reign of Charles I., the Petition of Rights was presented; this merely upheld the rights of the people not to be taxed or imprisoned against the law, and insisted that the law must be regarded. Nevertheless, Charles reigned eleven years without a Parliament after imprisoning the leaders of the House of Commons. In 1637 the King and Archbishop Laud proposed to substitute the English Prayer Book for the Liturgy of John Knox in Scotland, which led to war with that country and the introduction of representative institutions. Three years later a rebellion was provoked by the tax, "ship money," and the King called a Parliament which took away all jurisdiction from the Court of the Star Chamber, and requested the King to employ only such councillors and Ministers as could obtain the confidence of Parliament. The Long Parliament enacted that if the King neglected to call a Parliament for three years, the peers might assemble and issue writs for electing one, or if the peers failed to take action, the electors might meet and choose their own representatives. This was repealed by Statute (16 Car. ii. c. i.) which provides that "the sitting and holding of Parliament

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shall not be intermitted or discontinued above three years at the most."

Cromwell used the Puritan feeling to break the power of the Cavaliers, and this is the last instance in English history of religious prejudices being used to foment civil war. In 1644 Archbishop Laud was executed by the Lords and Commons acting together, but in 1649 the King was executed by the Commons acting alone.

After the Restoration, the Constitution of Charles I. was resumed, and the Corporation Act and Act of Uniformity were passed. The first excluded non-conformists from holding municipal offices, and the second required that every schoolmaster and clergyman should assent to everything in the Prayer Book. In 1650 Shaftesbury and his friends petitioned Charles II. to assemble Parliament and were called "petitioners" or "whigs," a term meant to suggest a covenanting rebel and derived from Whigamore a name applied to peasants in the West of Scotland. The King's friends on the other hand sent petitions expressing abhorrence at such interference and were called "abhorrers," or by their enemies "tories," which meant popish land raiders in Ireland. The Test Act required all holders of Government offices to renounce the doctrine of transubstantiation and to take the communion of the English Church, but James II. attempted to re-establish Romanism, to abolish the Test Act by royal prerogative and ordered the Declaration of Indulgence to be read in Churches. This declaration was as follows :—

"We do declare that it is our royal will and pleasure that from henceforth the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, for not coming to church or for not receiv-

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ing the sacrament, or for any other non-conformity to the religion or for or by the reason of the exercise of religion in any manner whatsoever, be immediately suspended, and the further execution of the said penal laws, and every one of them is suspended."

When the Bishops refused to read it he tried them for sedition but they were acquitted by the Courts, and when a son was born to James by a Romanist mother the Whigs, who had supported Monmouth, joined with the Tories who had supported Mary, the wife of William, Prince of Orange, and the two parties invited William to deliver them from their King. James fled to France, and the Lords and Assembly called a Parliament which declared that James had endeavoured to subvert the constitution, had violated the fundamental laws and, having withdrawn from the kingdom, had abdicated and left the throne vacant.

In this case the Lords and Commons met by their own authority and disposed of the throne, crowning William and Mary—the daughter of James II.—jointly, leaving the administration to the former. The great Revolution entirely upset the doctrine of the divine right of kings and substituted for it the extreme power of Parliament.

The Bill of Rights,[1] passed in 1688, defines the position of King, Ministers, and Houses of Parliament very clearly, and is the foundation of our present system of government. It declares the maintenance of a standing army in times of peace to be contrary to law, for although in order to enforce discipline, it is necessary that a standing army should be maintained and that punishments should be inflicted in a more summary manner than in an

[1] "Will. and Mary," c. 2.

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ordinary court of law, the Commons determined that the control of the force should not pass out of their hands, and hence the Army Act must still be passed every year. The House of Commons took over the control of the Naval and Military expenditure and placed the King on the Civil list, so that he was no longer able to raise money by act of royal prerogative without the consent of Parliament. By this means the House of Commons also obtained control over the actions of Ministers, and at the present time the usual method of expressing dissatisfaction with one of them is to move that his salary be reduced. The Bill declares that the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by royal authority without the consent of Parliament is illegal, and that the election of members of the Commons ought to be free. Both whigs and tories united in the Act of Settlement which was passed a year before the death of William.[1] In it the King is required to be a member of the Church of England and the tenure of judges is made permanent during good behaviour so that they can only be removed by an address to the Crown passed by both Houses of Parliament. A clause in this Act stipulated that, "from and after the time that the further limitation by this Act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well governing of this kingdom which are properly cognisable in the Privy Council by the laws and customs of this realme shall be transacted there and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the Privy Council as shall advise and consent to the same."

This clause was repealed (4 & 5 Anne, c. 20, s. 27)

[1] 12 & 13 Will. III. c. ii.

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but in it we see the idea expressed of the modern cabinet. At this time the whigs had a majority in the House of Lords, and the whig ministry although repeatedly defeated in the Commons, remained in office. Anne was partial to a mixed ministry, but in 1710 the tories were in power although there was a small majority of whig peers in the Lords, and to balance them and so avert opposition to the Peace of Utrecht, twelve new tory peers were created. The Queen presided every Sunday at a meeting of members of her Privy Council who virtually constituted the Cabinet. In 1716 the Septennial Act was passed limiting the duration of Parliaments to seven years, and it is still in force.

George I. did not understand English, and for fifty years from his accession the king did not attend Cabinet meetings, which led to so great a diminution in the influence of the monarch over the action of the Ministers, that Walpole virtually governed the country for over twenty years, during the reigns of George I. and George II. The whig party at this time dominated, and the tories were unpopular owing to their Jacobite tendencies, but still held together to support the Church. Walpole was not particularly scrupulous—according to modern notions of political ethics—by what means he obtained power, and used the prerogative of the King to reorganise the voting constituencies, gave bribes of office and money, and used the Lords to check the actions of the Commons if they did not meet with his approval, but in 1742, when he could no longer secure the confidence of the country, he resigned.

But although the Commons could control the ex-

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ecutive by means of voting supplies, the Ministers were still chosen entirely by the King, and when they demanded that Pitt and Chesterfield, who were personally disfavoured by George II., should be admitted into the Cabinet, he refused, and called upon Granville to form a Ministry. Nevertheless, Pitt's elevation to the office of Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister was largely due to popular demand, and he resigned two years after the accession of George III., who wished to have too great a personal share in the Government. This ended the long rule of the whig party, and the tories held the reins of government until the Reform Bill of 1832. In 1775 the English in America rebelled against being taxed without being represented, and the rule of the King, with North as Prime Minister, was almost absolute until 1780, when the whigs passed the resolution, "that the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." Nevertheless, when Pitt, the son, introduced a Reform Bill, the King said it would not pass, and it did not, showing that the power of the Crown to influence the Parliament was still very great.

In 1788 the King became temporarily insane, and Pitt proposed that his son should be appointed Regent, without the power of creating peers, but the King recovering, this was not carried out until his final relapse in 1810. After England had lost her American Colonies, the King was more reasonable with his Ministers, and in 1800 agreed that the Irish Parliament should be fused with the English. But although Pitt had promised to remove the political disabilities of the Roman Catholics, the

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King strongly objected, and the judges stated that his Majesty was restrained by his oath from giving his consent to measures of relief to Catholics, so Pitt resigned. But although the King's will could not be overruled, Pitt had done a great deal to establish the power of Ministers on a sure footing, and had re-established the secret meetings of the Cabinet, which had been temporarily discontinued. The next few years were occupied by the conflicts between the King and the Ministers over the removal of Catholic disabilities, which led to a debate on a resolution introduced by Mr Brand, "that it is contrary to the first duties of the confidential servants of the Crown to restrain themselves by any pledge, expressed or implied, from offering to the King any advice which the course of circumstances may render necessary for the welfare and security of the Empire."

At length George IV. was forced against his will to sign the Bill for Catholic Emancipation in 1829, the Test and Corporation Acts having been repealed in the previous year. William IV. dismissed his Ministers of his own free will in 1834, but since then Queen Victoria has always dissolved Parliament only on the advice of her Ministers.

This brief outline of constitutional history enables us to appreciate how the customs of to-day have gradually evolved, and to understand the significance of Parliamentary procedure, and we will now shortly state the character, the duties and the powers, possessed by the Crown in Parliament, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons.

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Section II.—The Crown in Parliament

The practical power of the Crown as head of the Legislative body may be described conveniently under two heads—

I. The power of summoning and dissolving Parliament.

There are three Statutes bearing upon the subject of summoning Parliament; (4 Ed. III. c. 14) enacts that "a Parliament shall be holden every year once, and more if need be"; the second is (16 Car. II. c. 1) (see p. 60); and the third is (6 William and Mary c. 2) which provides that we shall not be more than three years without a Parliament.

However, it is absolutely necessary now for a Parliament to meet every year to pass the Army Act, and to appropriate the supplies for the year. The right of the Queen to dissolve Parliament at her pleasure is unquestionable, but she has always acted on the advice of her Ministers.

The usual reasons for advising dissolution can be classified as follows:—

1. The existence of a Parliament is limited by a Septennial Act to seven years. Only three Parliaments—those of 1820, 1859, and 1874—have existed for more than six years during this century.

2. After a great change has been made in the electorate, as in '32, '68, and '85.

3. When the Government is defeated in the House of Commons which is the usual reason. But it is the duty of Ministers to advise dissolution when they think their policy, even if it is acceptable to the House of Commons is not to the country, and when it is not acceptable to the former but is to the latter.

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The underlying principle is that the House of Commons ought, at all times, to represent the opinion of the country and give expression to that opinion, but nevertheless in practice some of the greatest measures have been introduced without first appealing to the electorate on those particular questions. Such are the Acts of Union with Scotland and Ireland, the Septennial Act, the Reform Bill of 1885, the Repeal of the Corn Laws and the Home Rule measure of 1886.

II. The Royal Assent and the Royal Veto.

When a Bill has passed through both Houses of Parliament the king's assent has to be given before it becomes law. This is usually now given by Royal Commission, and the few instances in history when the Royal Assent was not asked occurred during the Common-wealth, at the restoration of Charles II., and when the Lords and Commons offered the Crown to William and Mary.

The forms of assent differ slightly in the cases of public and private bills, and in grants of supply.

The Veto, as before stated, has not been used since Anne refused her assent to the Scotch Militia Bill.

Section III.—The House of Lords

I. Composition.

The Lords of Parliament consist of the hereditary peers of the United Kingdom, sixteen representative peers of Scotland elected for each parliament, twenty-eight representative peers of Ireland elected for life, twenty-six spiritual peers, and the Lords of Appeal.

The right of the Crown to confer the dignity of

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peerages of the United Kingdom is unlimited, but inasmuch as the Act of Union with Scotland provides that the peerage of Scotland shall, after that Act, be the peerage of Great Britain, no Scotch peers are now created.[1] The Act of Union with Ireland allows the Crown to make one peer of Ireland for every three that become extinct after the Union until the number falls to one hundred, below which number, excluding those Irish peers who are entitled by the possession of other peerages to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords, it shall never be allowed to fall.[2]

All Scotch peers enjoy the same privileges as are enjoyed by peers of Great Britain except the right to sit in the House of Lords, and the sixteen representative peers are elected for each Parliament by open ballot by the whole peerage of Scotland, each peer reading out the list of those for whom he wishes to vote.

The twenty-eight representative peers of Ireland are elected for life by the whole of the Irish peerage, and when a representative peer dies, voting papers are sent to all those peers who apply for them and after a lapse of fifty-two days from the day of issue of the writ, the poll is closed.

The clerk of the Crown then hands in a copy of the writs and voting papers at the Bar of the House of Lords with a certificate stating the number of votes for each peer, and who has been elected.

A bishop sits in the House of Lords in virtue of his spiritual office and his writ of summons is different in form from that of a temporal peer.

[1] Act of Union with Scotland. [2] Act of Union with Ireland.

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His right to a seat dates from the Saxon Assembly but there are only twenty-six spiritual peers, who are also Lords of Parliament, consisting of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, and twenty-one other bishops in order of their seniority.

The Lords of Appeal consist of the Lord Chancellor and the four Lords of Appeal in ordinary. Each Lord of Appeal is a Baron for life and has a salary of £6000 a-year.

II. Powers.

The House of Lords is for legislative purposes co-ordinate with the House of Commons, and can itself originate Bills, and accept, reject or amend, all those sent from the lower House except those which relate to supply.

Sir Robert Peel thus writes on this point—"The Commons will reject a Money Bill altered by the Lords. When the Lords alter a Money Bill they do it with the foreknowledge that it is tantamount to a rejection. But I doubt whether we could safely fight a battle against the Lords on the ground that alteration of a Money Bill by the Lords was unconstitutional. I rather think the Commons, whenever a conference takes place with the Lords in consequence of an altered Money Bill, avoid denial of the power of the Lords, though they refuse to acquiesce in the alteration."[1]

The House of Lords has assumed many rôles during its history, sometimes supporting the King against the Commons and sometimes the Commons against the King, sometimes supporting the Ministry

[1] Letter from Peel to Wellington: "Peel Papers," J. S. Parker, vol. i. p. 354.

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at other times opposing it. In 1644 the Lords and Commons together executed Archbishop Laud, and in Walpole's time the Minister frequently used the Upper House to thwart the wishes of the Lower.

In 1702 the Lords amended a bill against dissenters although it was strongly supported by the Court, and it was ultimately dropped. In 1832 the Lords only passed the Reform Bill when they were persuaded that the King would create new peers if they refused, and in this case they undoubtedly, for a time, opposed the clearly stated wishes of the country. They did not reject the Repeal of the Corn Laws and passed the Irish Church Bill because they were convinced that the country approved of those measures. In 1884 the Lords refused to read the Franchise Bill a second time unless it were accompanied by a Redistribution Bill.

In the rejection of the Home Rule Bill the Lords clearly showed that they understood the country did not really desire Home Rule, although the bill had passed the Commons.

We can conclude, then, that the main function of the House of Lords at the present time is to put a brake on hasty legislation, and to allow the constituencies a second chance of expressing their opinions; but when the country speaks in a clear and emphatic manner, the Lords, although they may resist, do not throw out a measure, even if distasteful to them.

Section IV.—The House of Commons

I. Composition.

There are 670 members of the House of Commons elected by the popular vote. Any man can be pre-

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sented as a candidate and elected, except infants, lunatics, aliens, English and Scotch peers, clergy of the Established Church and the Roman Catholic Church; those who hold various kinds of offices, such as Sheriffs, Judges, and members of the Permanent Civil Service; those who hold pensions from the Crown except ex-members of the Civil and Diplomatic Services; felons, bankrupts, and those guilty of corrupt practices at elections. A complete list of persons disqualified by Statute is given in Anson.[1]

The system of election for the House of Commons is altered periodically by Franchise and Redistribution Acts, the last of which was the Act of 1884. Every voter must be a man over twenty-one years of age, who possesses a legal qualification for a vote, and who is registered. The qualifications of the great majority fall under one of three headings—

(*a*) Household Qualification. An inhabitant, occupier as owner or tenant of any dwelling-house in a borough, who has resided there for a year, and been rated for the poor.

(*b*) Lodger Qualification. A lodger in a dwelling-house in a borough, occupying rooms of the annual value, when unfurnished, of £10.

(*c*) Every man occupying land or tenement in a county or borough, of a clear yearly value of £10.[2]

The qualification of owners of real property consists in being seized at law, or in equity of any lands or tenements of freehold, copyhold, or any other tenure whatsoever, of the clear yearly value of not

[1] "Law and Customs of the Constitution," vol. i. p. 90.
[2] "Representation of the People Acts for 1867 and 1884."

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less than £5, over and above all rents and charges payable out of, or in respect of the same.

The 1884 Act states that, "a man shall not be entitled to be registered as a voter in respect of the ownership of any rent charge except the owner of the whole of the tithe rent charge of a rectory, vicarage, chapelry, or benefice, to which an apportionment of tithe rent charge shall have been made in respect of any portion of tithes."

It is the duty of the overseer to ascertain who is entitled to be registered as an inhabitant-occupier, but the owner must claim once, in order to get on the Register, and the lodger voter must claim afresh each year. In cases of disputed claims, and objections to names already on the Register, the Revising Barrister adjudicates, but an appeal lies from his decision to the Queen's Bench.

Before a General Election can take place, the Queen issues a Proclamation, "with the advice of our Privy Council," ordering the Chancellors of Great Britain and Ireland to issue writs for calling a new Parliament. These writs are forwarded to the Sheriffs, or Returning Officers, for the counties and boroughs, who then give notice of the day and place of election, and of the poll, if the election is to be contested.

Each candidate must be proposed and seconded by a registered elector for the constituency, and eight more electors have to certify on the nomination paper that they assent to the election.

Polling takes place from 8 A.M. to 8 P.M., and is conducted by means of the secret ballot, the voter marking his paper and placing it in a box.

II. Powers of the House of Commons.

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(*a*) The first and greatest power of the House of Commons is that of imposing any tax, or otherwise raising public money, and of spending it in the service of the State.

But although legislation relating to supply, only takes place on the recommendation of the Crown, it is entirely under the control of the Commons, and the Lords never reject or amend it, although their concurrence and the Royal Assent are both needed. (See *ante*, p. 70).

Nevertheless, after the Lords threw out the Paper Bill in 1860, a Committee of the Commons reported that they had not acted unconstitutionally in rejecting a Bill which repealed a tax, but when Mr Gladstone incorporated it in the Budget in the following year, the Lords did not reject or amend it.

(*b*) Most important Public Bills now originate in the Commons in the form of a notice of motion, and thereupon an order is made that the Bill be prepared and brought in by the mover, and other members named by him. When this is done it is "read a first time," without amendment or debate, and an order is made that it be read a second time on a day named. At this stage the general principle is debated, and if it passes the second reading it is then fully considered in a Committee of the Whole House clause by clause.

When the Bill has passed through the Committee, it is again considered in the House and further amendments may be made or clauses added. Next a motion is made that the Bill be read a third time, and on this being carried the Bill is sent to the Lords for their concurrence. The Lords may reject it altogether, but if they amend it, it is sent back to

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the Commons who may agree with, or refuse to accept, the Bill as amended and again send it to the Lords.

When disagreements between the Houses were not easily settled Conferences were sometimes held between members appointed by each of them, but this method has not been used since 1836, and now reasons for their amendments are usually submitted by each and a compromise is arranged.

(*c*) The House of Commons acts always as a critic of the Executive, and any member may, after giving due notice, ask the Government any questions respecting its action or policy, which is answered by the Minister to whose department the particular matter belongs. If a member seriously disapproves of the policy of the Government he can move that the salary of a Minister be reduced, and if the majority of the House agree with him, it means defeat and resignation of the Government. But this subject will be discussed more fully in Book II.

The whole House resolves itself into either a Committee of Supply or a Committee of Ways and Means when dealing with the Estimates and discusses one stage of every Bill in Committee. There are also Select Committees to examine whether the Standing Orders may be dispensed with in the case of Private Bills and Committees to hear the evidence for and against all Private Bills. This function of the Houses is semi-judicial, and is to ensure that the proposed legislation will be compatible with justice both to the individuals and the corporations which will be affected. But the further powers of the Houses are best considered in a description of the powers of Parliament as a whole.

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Section V.—The Powers of Parliament

Parliament, consisting of the King, Lords, and Commons, is a sovereign legislature and can pass any Act it pleases, affecting one individual or the whole Empire. All other legislatures are subordinate and their actions can be overruled by it, in this respect the Legislative Council of India, the Governments of the Colonies, Municipal Corporations, County Councils, School Boards, Railway Companies, and all other bodies possessing the power of making laws or bye-laws, being equal.[1] A glance at the means by which these non-sovereign law-making bodies are checked and limited in their legislative powers is the best method of inculcating an idea of the extreme powers of the British Parliament.

The Council of India is bound by a large number of Acts and Rules which cannot be changed by itself, and the Indian Courts may pronounce upon the validity or constitutionality of laws made by it.

Any law made by a Colonial Parliament can be vetoed by the Governor of the Colony or by the Crown, and is itself void and inoperative if it is repugnant to the provisions of any Act of Parliament, and further the Courts may be called upon to adjudicate upon the validity or constitutionality of any Act of a Colonial Parliament.

Municipal Corporations, County Councils, and School Boards may make and enforce bye-laws relating to certain subjects and within certain limitations, but all of these may be annulled and must be ratified by the Central Executive. Railway Com-

[1] See Dicey: "The Law of the Constitution."

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panies may make bye-laws subject to the powers conferred upon them by Statute.

The Imperial Parliament on the other hand can make, confirm, enlarge, restrain, abrogate, repeal, revive, and expound laws concerning all kinds of matters whether ecclesiastical, temporal, civil, military, maritime or criminal.

Its power is absolute and cannot be overruled or called in question by any person, body of persons or Court of Law.

A few examples will suffice.

1. The succession to the Crown was varied and finally fixed under the Act of Settlement (12 & 13 William III. c. 2), and the Queen thus occupies the throne under a Parliamentary title.

2. The Acts of Union amalgamate England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, into one Kingdom.

3. The Triennial and Septennial Acts limit the duration of Parliaments and other Acts render the necessity to call together a Parliament every year.

4. The various Representation of the Peoples Acts, and the Registration and Redistribution of Seats Acts, regulate the mode in which the House of Commons is chosen by the people.

5. The doctrine, ritual and government of the Church is ordered, and can only be altered by Parliament.

6. The maintenance of the Army and Navy and everything connected with them is controlled by Parliament.

7. All Moneys for State purposes are raised and spent by Parliament. Any treaties with foreign powers which involve a charge upon the State, must be sanctioned by Parliament — Cessions of

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Territory to other countries have lately been sanctioned by the Legislature, but it is doubtful if this is necessary to their legality.

8. Trade, Commerce, Manufacture, Methods of transit by land and water, the weights and measures, currency, in fact everything connected with every kind of industry or occupation can be regulated by Acts of Parliament.

9. All the Civil and Criminal Laws can be made, altered, or repealed by this supreme Body.

10. The private rights of individuals can be interfered with in any way, *e.g.*, aliens may be naturalised, illegitimate children legitimatised, minors adjudged of full age.

In fact, Parliament can do anything which it is possible for a human society to do.

It will perhaps emphasise this fact if we compare the power of the British Parliament with other legislative assemblies. The French Parliament cannot alter the "fundamental laws" of the constitution, except by a special proceeding described under Article 8 of the written constitution.

"Les chambres auront le droit, par délibérations séparées, prises dans chacune à la majoité absolue des voix, soit spontanement, soit sur la demande du Président de la République de declarer qu'il y a lieu de réviser les lois constitutionnelles—Après que chacune des deux Chambres aura pris cette resolution, elles se réuniront—en Assemblée nationale pour proceder à la révision Les delibèrations portant révision des lois constitutionnelles en tout ou en partie, devrout être prises à la majorité absolue des membres composant l'Assemblée nationale." [1]

The American Constitution is also written, and "no amendment can be even proposed except by the vote of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress,

[1] Quoted from Dicey, p. 117.

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or by an application from the legislatures of two-thirds of the Several States.

No amendment of the Federal Constitution can become law, unless it is ratified in three-quarters of the States, by both Houses in the local legislatures, or by conventions specially summoned for that purpose." [1]

The extreme difficulty of amending the constitution has never been put to the test since it was established, but not only has the House of Representatives no power to pass any law contrary to the fundamental laws of the Constitution, but it cannot even turn out a ministry, and every Bill passed has to be examined by the Federal Judges, who determine if it is compatible with the constitution, before it becomes law.

The Constitutions of the German Empire and Belgium are also written, and can only be changed by special methods.

The British Parliament on the other hand can as easily alter the very foundation of our constitution, and reform or abolish the House of Lords or Commons, or alter the succession to the throne as it can naturalise an alien or pass a Railway Bill.

The various checks on the excessive action of the Legislature by popular opinion and popular vote will be discussed later, and here we only wish to make clear and emphasise the fact that the law-making machine is itself capable of making or unmaking any law, and is omnipotent.

[1] Lecky: "Democracy and Liberty," Vol. i., p. 54.

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CHAPTER V

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

LOCAL GOVERNMENT is conducted by various bodies of individuals elected by popular vote, which have certain definite powers conferred upon them by Acts of Parliament, and which are controlled to a great extent by the Central Government, chiefly by means of the Local Government Board, the Home Office, the Treasury, and the Education Department. Besides these bodies, various officials are still elected, for the most part by the Central Government, who have certain limited duties and privileges, but have lost, practically, all their administrative powers. Such are the Lord-Lieutenants of the Counties, the Sheriffs, and the Justices of the Peace. The elected bodies are the Parish and District Councils, the Guardians, the School Boards, the Municipal Councils, and the County Councils.

Every County in England and Wales possesses at least one Council, and several are divided for purposes of administration. The towns are either administered by Urban District Councils, or Municipal Councils, and several of the larger ones are considered to be administrative counties, and their Councils have the power of County Councils.

London is divided into the City and several Municipal Boroughs which, to a certain limited extent, govern themselves, but the control of the main drainage, theatres, fire brigade, and some

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tramways, is in the hands of the London County Council.

The modes of election of these various bodies, and their powers and duties, are clearly laid down by Acts of Parliament, whose chief provisions are as follows, commencing with the smaller, and working up to the greater bodies.

Section I.—Urban and Rural Councils

The Local Government Act for England and Wales (1894) constructs the following bodies, and confers the following powers:—

PART I. Parish Meetings and Parish Councils.—There shall be a Parish Meeting for every rural parish with a population of 100 or over, and a Parish Council if the population is 300 or over, and every parish in a rural sanitary district shall be a rural parish.

The Parish Meeting shall consist of all persons on either the local or parliamentary register of electors, and each shall have one vote.

The Parish Council shall be elected from, and by the parochial electors, and the number of Councillors shall be determined by the County Council, not being more than 15 or less than 5. Either sex, whether single or married, are eligible for election, and the term of office shall be one year.

The election is conducted under rules framed by the Local Government Board.

The Council must hold one meeting a year, at least, and shall elect a chairman. It may assemble in the parish school-room.

Powers and duties of a Parish Council or Meeting.

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1. It shall appoint an overseer of the poor, and an assistant overseer, and the legal interest in all property vested in the overseers shall be vested in the Parish Council—except Church property.

2. It shall take over the powers, duties, and liabilities of the Vestry of the parish, except those relating to (*a*) Church affairs, and (*b*) any powers transferred to any other authority.

3. It shall take over the powers, duties, and liabilities of church-wardens, except so far as they relate to the affairs of the church, but shall undertake the maintenance and repairing of closed churchyards wherever the expenses come out of the Poor Rate.

4. It shall acquire the powers of overseers as regards holding parish property, such as the vestry room, parish chest, the fire-engine, fire-escape, etc., which are not church property.

5. The Parish Meeting can adopt the Lighting and Watching Act (1833), the Baths and Washhouses Acts (1846 to 1882), the Burial Acts (1882-1886), the Public Improvement Act (1860), and the Public Libraries Act (1892).

A Parish Council shall have power to provide or acquire buildings for public offices and land, either for such buildings or for recreation purposes. It may utilise a well, spring, or stream, for water, and deal with ponds, pools, ditches, drains, etc., so as to prevent them being injurious to health. It may let, sell, or exchange, land or buildings, but must obtain the consent of the Local Government Board, if such land has been acquired at the expense of any rate. If it cannot acquire land for any purpose—such as allotments—it shall represent the case to the County

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Council, and the County Council, after inquiry, can put in force the Lands Clauses Act.

If the County Council refuses to do so, on the representation of the Parish Council, the Local Government Board may make an order, but if this order overrules the County Council, it shall be laid before Parliament by the Local Government Board.

The Council shall not, without the consent of the Parish Meeting, incur expenses or liabilities which will involve a rate exceeding threepence in the pound, or which will involve a loan, and shall not contract a loan without the consent of the County Council and the Local Government Board.

Part II. of the same Act deals with the Guardians who administer the Poor Law, and the Rural and Urban District Councils which administer the Laws of Public Health. The rural district is conterminous with the poor law union, or group of parishes united for the administration of the Poor Law.

The Guardians must be parochial electors who have lived for twelve months in the Union, and are elected for three years under rules drawn up by the Local Government Board.

They form the Rural District Council, and their Chairman is a Justice of the Peace unless a woman.

The urban district is created by the County Council or the Local Government Board which defines its area, and it is governed by an Urban Council elected by the parochial electors for three years.

It does not administer the Poor Law, and in urban districts a separate Board of Guardians is elected.

The whole of England and Wales, except London

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and the County Boroughs is thus divided into rural and urban districts, the latter of which may be conterminous with Municipal Boroughs, and they are administered by Councils who have taken over the duties of the old Urban and Rural Sanitary Authorities conferred by the Public Health Act of 1875, and the subsequent amending Acts. They have also acquired some of the powers of the Justices of the Peace out of session in relation to licensing pawnbrokers, gamedealers, gangmasters and others, and the power to protect all rights of way.

Section II.—Municipal Government

In 1835 the constitutions of the boroughs were designed by Act of Parliament, and the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882 embraces, and consolidates, the substance of this and other amending Acts.

(*a*) Constitution.

The Borough Councils consist of a Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors. The Councillors must be Burgesses who live within 15 miles of the borough, and who are possessed of real property to the extent of £1000, or are rated at the annual value of £30 at least, to the poor rate. They are disqualified from being elected if they hold any place of profit in the gift of the Council, or have any share in any contract with the Council with certain exceptions.

The Burgesses, who elect the Councillors, must be of age and must have been in occupation of some building, and paid all the rates.

The Councillors are elected for three years, and they elect Aldermen who serve for six years, and who constitute one-third of the number of the

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Council. The Mayor is elected by the Council, and is either one of their number, or is qualified to be so. The officers appointed by the Council are the Town Clerk, the Treasurer of the Borough and others.

If the borough has its own Quarter Sessions the Council may appoint its Coroner, and if it is ranked as an administrative county it may appoint its own Sheriff.

The borough may be divided into wards by the Queen in Council if petitioned by two-thirds of the Council.

(*b*) Powers of the Council.

It may appoint committees to discuss matters of administration.

It may make bye-laws regarding the good rule and government of the borough, and for the prevention of nuisances which are not already punishable by any Act in force in the borough, but these bye-laws must be sent sealed with the Corporate Seal to the Secretary of State, and they may be disallowed by the Queen in Council.

(*c*) Finance.

There are three borough auditors. The Treasurer shall make up the accounts half-yearly to such date as the Council with the consent of the Local Government Board shall appoint, and the Town Clerk shall make a return to the Local Government Board of the receipts and expenditure for each year.

A Municipal Council may contract for the purchase of, and hold any land not exceeding five acres, and build on it a town hall, council house, police station, justice rooms, or Quarter or Petty Sessions' house.

It may borrow money with the approval of the Treasury, but cannot, unless authorised by an Act

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of Parliament, sell mortgage or alienate any corporate land without the approval of the Treasury.

If the Council determines to convert any land into sites for working men's dwellings, and obtains the approval of the Treasury, it may grant leases for 999 years or for shorter periods.

The Borough Fund and Borough Rate.

The rents and profits of all corporate land and interest, dividends, and all money dues, chattels, fines, etc. shall go to the Borough Fund. The Council shall order a rate called the borough rate to be levied and shall assess the contribution to the borough rate on the several parishes in the borough. It also has the power to levy rates for special purposes such as lighting or watching.

(*d*) Justice.

The Borough Justices consist of the Mayor and others, and have jurisdiction similar to the County Justices (see p. 56), but the Queen, on petition to the Secretary of State, may appoint barristers of seven years' standing to be Stipendiary Magistrates.

The Borough Quarter Sessions are held in the Borough, and the Queen appoints the Recorder who shall hold a Court of Sessions once a quarter and sit as sole judge.

The Council appoints the Clerk of the Peace, and the Watch Committee of the Council appoint the police and make rules for their guidance, which must be approved by the Secretary of State.

(*e*) Public Health.

The Duties which devolve on the District Councils and Municipal Corporations concerning the Public Health, are laid down in great detail in the Public Health Act of 1875 and amending Acts.

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They may purchase, maintain, make and cleanse sewers, and enforce the draining of houses into such sewers, and regulate the provision of the sanitary arrangements within houses, so that they are not a nuisance or injurious to health. They must cleanse the streets, remove refuse and prevent nuisances. They may provide their district with a water supply, prevent any person polluting the water and deal with polluted wells. They must regulate all Cellar Dwellings and Lodging Houses, and register all Common Lodging Houses. No offensive trade shall be established within the district without the consent of the Council in writing. The Medical Officer of Health may inspect any food intended for human consumption and, if it is unfit, he may seize it and a Justice may order it to be destroyed. The Council may provide hospitals and mortuaries and order the disinfection of houses after infectious diseases.

The urban authorities survey and maintain their own roads and bridges, may lay out parks and pleasure grounds, and provide markets and slaughter-houses.

The Councils appoint their Medical Officer of Health, Surveyors, Inspectors of Nuisances, Clerks and Treasurers, subject to the approval of the Local Government Board.

Section III.—County Councils

The Local Government Act of 1888 created administrative Counties and Councils who are entrusted with the management of their administrative and financial business. Each Council consists of a

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Chairman, Aldermen and Councillors, the number of whom are determined by the Local Government Board. Anyone is qualified to be elected an Alderman or Councillor who is registered as a parliamentary voter in that county. The electors are burgesses enrolled by the Municipal Corporation Act of 1882, and the county electors must be in occupation of a building or land worth £10 a year. The duties and powers of these bodies are shortly as follows—

They make and assess the county, police and all other county rates, and apply and expend them; they may borrow money with the consent of the Local Government Board; they grant licenses for music, dancing and race courses; they provide, maintain, and manage pauper lunatic asylums, reformatories and industrial schools; they make and repair roads and bridges; they appoint the Coroner and the Medical Officer of Health—who must hold a Diploma in Public Health—and settle their salaries and the fees of inspectors, analysts and anyone holding office in the county except the Clerk of the Peace; they control jointly with the Justices of the Peace the county police. The Local Government Board can transfer to a County Council such of the powers of the Quarter Sessions, Justices of the Peace, Privy Council, Secretary of State, Board of Trade and the Education Department, as appear to be within the administration of that county. County Councils have similar powers to the Boroughs to make bye-laws under the Municipal Corporation Act of 1882 described above. They have powers to enforce the Rivers Pollution Act in their own district and the Local Government Board may

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constitute a joint committee of Councils through which a river passes to enforce the Act. Their powers of defining Urban Districts and their control over the District Councils have already been described.

Section IV.—Education

The provision and enforcement of education was instituted in 1870 by the Elementary Education Act. It follows the general principles of English local government, and creates bodies elected by popular vote who are controlled by the central Government, in this case by means of the Educational Department, which has been described above (p. 43).

The local bodies are known as School Boards and are elected by the burgesses in boroughs and by the ratepayers in other districts. Every voter has a number of votes equal to the number of individuals to be elected, and may distribute them in any way he pleases or give them all to one person. The number of members constituting a School Board is determined by the Education Department, and no member can be elected who holds any office or place of profit under the Board, with certain exceptions.

Duties of School Boards.

They serve a precept on the rating authority to levy a rate for purposes of education, and if the rating authority makes a default, they may themselves appoint officers to levy a rate; they may borrow money with the consent of the Education Department; they may make byelaws requiring

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the attendance of children between certain ages, for determining the hours of school, and for exacting penalties for non-attendance, but they do not come into force until sanctioned by Her Majesty in Council. Children are exempt from attendance if they have reached a certain standard of education specified by the bye-laws, if they are receiving efficient instruction elsewhere, if they are sick, or if there is no school within three miles of their home. The Code of Education is drawn up and altered from time to time by the Department, and is very full and comprehensive. The children are inspected, and a grant made from the Government, which varies according to the efficiency of the scholars. It is not required that any child shall either attend or abstain from attending any religious service, observance or form of instruction in school or elsewhere against the wishes of the parents. All religious observances take place at the beginning or end of the time for school attendance.

In Ireland, the control of education is in the hands of five Commissioners, two of whom shall be or have been Judges of the Supreme Court of Ireland, and three (called Assistant Commissioners) shall be persons of experience in education.[1]

The School Attendance Committees, who appoint and remove the officers, prescribe their duties and fix their remuneration—with the approval of the local authorities—consist of 6, 8, or 10 persons, half of whom are appointed by the Commissioners and half by the local authorities, who are the County and Borough Councils.[2]

[1] 48 & 49 Vict. c. 78, sect. 4.

[2] 55 & 56 Vict. c. 42.

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Section V.—The Local Government of London

In 1855 an Act[1] was passed for the better local management of the Metropolis in respect to sewerage, drainage, paving, cleansing, lighting and improvements thereof. By this Act the vestries were elected by the ratepayers, the number of vestrymen being 18 for every parish with under 1000 inhabitants, 24 for over 1000, 36 for over 2000, and 12 more for every 1000, but never exceeding 120. The incumbent and churchwardens were also members with votes.

The qualification for election was rating at £40 per annum, and the vestrymen were elected for three years, one-third retiring each year. By this Act the Metropolitan Board of Works was also created, and was elected by the vestries.

In 1888 London was given a County Council, and the Metropolitan Board of Works was abolished.

In 1891 an Act to Consolidate and Amend the Laws relating to Public Health in London was passed, in which the chief provisions of the Public Health Act of 1875 were established in the Metropolis. As in the '75 Act it was then laid down that "It shall be the duty of every sanitary authority to cause to be made from time to time inspection of their district, with a view to ascertaining what nuisances exist calling for abatement under the provisions of this Act," "and to enforce the provision of this Act for the purpose of abating the same, and otherwise to put in force the powers vested in them relating to public health and local government, so as to secure the proper sanitary condition of all premises within their district."

[1] 18 & 19 Vict. c. 120.

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The London Government Act of 1899 provides for the division of the whole of London, except the City, into areas, some of which were defined by the Act, and others which are to be afterwards defined by Order in Council.

The population of each area must be between 100,000 and 400,000, or the rateable value of the area must exceed £500,000.

These areas are styled boroughs, and each one is governed by a Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors elected by the ratepayers. The number of councillors, and the number and boundaries of the wards are fixed by an Order in Council, but the total number of councillors and aldermen in each borough shall not exceed seventy.

The councils take over the powers, property and liabilities of the vestries. They administer the Acts which have been already adopted within the boroughs, and may adopt any of the adoptive Acts in a similar manner to boroughs outside London. Certain powers are transferred by the Act from the County Council to the Borough Councils, and others may in the future be transferred by a provisional Order of the Local Government Board, if both the County Council and the Borough Council agree. The chief powers of the Borough Councils, in addition to those formerly in the hands of the vestries, are—

1. Such power of promoting and opposing Bills in Parliament as are conferred on Borough Councils outside London by the Boroughs Funds Act 1872.

2. The power and duty of maintaining the main roads within the boroughs.

3. The power to close streets without the sanction or allowance of the County Council.

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4. The power to enforce bye-laws with respect to dairies and milk, slaughter-houses, knacker's yards, and offensive businesses.

It will be noticed that practically the whole system of local government has been radically revised during the last thirty years. The main principle followed has been to substitute locally elected bodies, controlled by Departments of the Central Government, for the miscellaneous collection of officials who were partly elected and partly nominated. Both the expense and the efficiency of local government has been enormously increased, but the whole system is greatly simplified, and the areas of the various districts and the powers of the various councils are not so hopelessly chaotic. Although it is necessary to employ an ever-increasing army of technical experts as inspectors and advisers to the Departments, the practice of local government tends to train the minds of the public, and to remind them of the magnitude of their responsibilities as members of the community.

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CHAPTER VI

THE MACHINE AS A WHOLE

HAVING described the separate parts of the mechanism of government and the workshop, the Parliament, in which they are made, we are now in a position to fix them together, and construct the whole machine.

It consists of a curious mixture of elements: first, the Monarch, reigning by hereditary right, who chooses the Prime Minister, who nominates the members of the Cabinet, who in turn appoint various officials, all of whom are thus indirectly the creation of one will; and secondly, various bodies of men, elected by popular vote, who control, to a certain extent, and are in turn controlled by, the Central Government.

Thus the local Councils are elected by popular vote, and their members often join the Political Associations, who have a great influence over the choice of candidates for election to the House of Commons. The public choose between the rival candidates, and the leader of the party which possesses a majority is created Prime Minister by the Queen. The Prime Minister nominates the members of the Cabinet, who—in their executive capacity—to a certain extent, control the actions of the local Councils.

But the parts fit so well into their places that they can be represented in a diagram which is so simple

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that it practically explains itself. In the centre is the Monarch, who cannot be removed except by an Act of Parliament, which disturbs the very foundation of the Constitution, and since any Act, to be valid, must be permitted by the Monarch, it can only be done with his consent. When the Monarch has been dethroned, the Constitution has thus either been openly defied, or some fiction has been invented to legalise the procedure.

Surrounding the Monarch, and protecting him from responsibility, comes the Prime Minister, chosen by him, and surrounding the Premier, the Cabinet Ministers, whom he nominates for the approval of the Crown. Most of the members of the Cabinet are heads of executive departments, and are responsible for the nomination of subordinates, and so the rami fications of officials continue until their influence pervades the whole world.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs nominates the Ambassadors, Ministers, Charges d'Affaires, Consuls, Envoys, and others, who conduct business with foreign states.

The Secretary of State for India controls the Governor-General of India and his Council, and the Governors of Madras, Bombay, and Fort St George.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies is responsible for the appointment and actions of Colonial Governors, and exercises control over the Colonial Legislatures.

The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and his Chief Secretary are responsible for the Government of Ireland, and control, to a certain extent, the locally elected bodies, such as Municipal and County

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Councils. The Secretary for Scotland undertakes somewhat similar responsibilities for that country.

The Lord High Chancellor nominates the Judges of the High Court and the County Court, and the Justices of the Peace for the Counties and Boroughs.

The Archbishops and Bishops are nominated by the Prime Minister, and they are responsible for the institution and discipline of the clergy.

The Postmaster-General is head of the Post Office, and is responsible for everything in connection with that service.

The President of the Board of Trade is responsible for the control of Railways; Trade Finances, Fisheries, Harbours, and various trades.

The Lord President of the Council is the Head of the Education Department.

The President of the Local Government Boards controls, conjointly with the Home Secretary and the First Lord of the Treasury, the various bodies elected by popular vote for purposes of local government.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer is responsible for the state of the national finances, and still appoints the Sheriffs for the Counties.

The Secretary for War, aided by the Commander-in-Chief and the Finance Secretary, governs the Army.

The First Lord of the Admiralty, aided by a Civil Lord and four Naval Lords, governs the Navy.

We thus see that the individuals who are responsible for the welfare of the country, both externally, in its relationships with other states, and internally, are bound together by links which extend, *e.g.*, from the youngest recruit in the army, or the

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scavenger who removes the ashes, to the very centre of Government—the Sovereign. To give another instance, the Medical Officer of Health is appointed by the Municipal, or County Councils, which are elected by the ratepayers, but his appointment is subject to the approval of the Local Government Board, the President of which is nominated by the Prime Minister, who is chosen by the Sovereign.

The machine itself, then, regarded simply as a static phenomenon, is constructed and governed, apparently, by the will of the Monarch, but when we examine the various dynamic forces which actuate its movements, we find that the ultimate power is derived chiefly from the will of the people.

The manner in which the machine has been gradually adapted to fulfil one function, while retaining the shape, at first sight, more suitable to fulfil another, belongs properly to the domain of constitutional history, and here, having drawn a rough outline of its main parts, we will pass on at once to examine how the power enters and controls its motions.

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BOOK II

THE MOTIVE POWER

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CHAPTER I

GEORGE III., GEORGE IV., AND WILLIAM IV.

In this chapter we intend to analyse the political influence only of the three kings who reigned during the first thirty-seven years of the century, and not to dwell upon their personal and private characters. For although the domestic life of the monarch interests the public far more than his political actions, which indeed at the time are not generally known, and although George IV. will be chiefly remembered for his vicious amours and his weak vacillating character, yet a consideration of them is clearly not within the province of a work on political principles. Nor can the fact that a sovereign leads a dissolute life affect the policy of his Government, and although the highest function of the king is to inculcate by example a noble and pure ideal of living, yet it is not just if he fails to do so, to attack the whole principle of monarchical government. Nevertheless, the Radical Press, in the early years of the century, was continually drawing attention to the disgraceful escapades of the Royal Dukes, and endeavouring to advance their own measures by decrying the personal characters of the Royal Family. Here we will describe merely the actions of the kings in choosing their Ministers, and in obstructing or supporting their measures.

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Section I.—George III.

George III. was a king who, with no power of foresight, with little political judgment, and with a dogged obstinacy, was undoubtedly strictly honest, and actuated by a desire to do his duty, as he understood it, to the best of his ability. Although his intellect did not shine among the brilliant statesmen with whom he was always in contact, yet he was actuated by a sound common sense patriotism and a desire to maintain the Royal Prerogative and the Constitution as he found it, and was far more virtuous and religious than the average peer or gentleman of his time. It is true he acquiesced in the foolish measures of taxation without representation which caused the rebellion in the American Colonies, but so did North, the Tory Ministry, and the greater number of the commercial classes. But after North recognised the injustice and futility of the war and wished to discontinue it, the King obstinately refused to listen to him and must thus be credited with the loss of the American Colonies. He opposed all political concessions to the people, and hated Fox and the Duke of Portland, whom he thought wished to destroy the Constitution. France appeared to him to be a "very unprincipled nation," and although he did not oppose the attempt of Pitt to arrange a peace in 1796, he did not think it would be successful. In the following year he acquiesced in the peace proposals of the Cabinet, but thought that the country had taken "every humiliating step for seeking peace the warmest advocate for that object could suggest." As the war continued he distrusted France more and more,

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and in 1800 wrote: "No disaster can make me think the treating for peace either wise or safe whilst the French principles subsist,"[1] and actuated by this idea, he was always strongly in favour of maintaining the army and navy at its full strength. He did not trust Bonaparte, whom he regarded as a vulgar usurper, and had no confidence that the peace of 1802 would be continued, and with strong patriotic instincts opposed the acceptance of any arrangement which could in the least degree lower the prestige of the country. In 1805 he approved of the proposal to attempt the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope, and urged that it should at once be put into effect.[2]

The chief reason which induced the King to support the Act of Union with Ireland was because he thought it would strengthen the Government to resist any further attempts of the Catholics to gain political power, for he feared for the Protestant Constitution, in common with the majority of his subjects at that time.

George III. had taken the Coronation Oath to maintain the Protestant Constitution, and he honestly thought that by giving Catholics political power he would violate that oath, and so strong was this conviction that it prevented him understanding that the monarch does not take an oath to maintain the *statu quo* at his accession, but to govern according to the laws which are passed by Parliament and come into action during his reign. He therefore showed natural opposition to a measure which he thought would injure the Royal prestige and was unable to understand

[1] Stanhope: "Life of Pitt."

[2] Jesse: "Memoirs of the reign of George III.," vol. iii. p. 442.

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either the ethical justice of granting the Catholics freedom, or the absolute political necessity of the measure. So strongly indeed did he feel on this point that it acted upon his mind with all the force of monomania, and probably accentuated his malady, so that although Pitt was scarcely justified as a Minister in promising not to attempt to bring in the measure again, as a man he only showed a due consideration for the fancies of his Royal Master. After the death of Pitt in 1806 the King was compelled to accept the Grenville-Fox Ministry of "all the talents," but he was so afraid of the Whig principles that he required Grenville to sign a paper in which he claimed the right of refusing or accepting any plan of the Cabinet. The Ministers at once stated that this was unnecessary since such a right was constitutional.

The first step which displeased the King was the attempt to gain the control of the discipline of the army which he insisted rested entirely with him through the Commander-in-Chief. The Ministers next wished to introduce a Measure which would remove some of the Catholic disabilities and enable Catholics to serve in the army and navy, but the King demanded that they should promise not to discuss the question at all in the Cabinet, and when they refused to do so he dismissed them. After this dangerous Ministry had been deposed, the King appears to have been free from serious worries for two or three years until the succession of troubles occurred, which finally overpowered his tottering intellect. The retreat at Corunna and the death of Sir John Moore greatly affected him and the quarrel of Castlereagh and Canning, and the retire-

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ment of the Duke of Portland in 1809, opened up the possibility of the return of Grenville and the hated Catholic question.

The foolish action of the House of Commons in examining the accusations of corruption against the Duke of York, and one of his mistresses, Mrs Clarke, in full committee of the House, and the resignation of his appointment as Commander-in-Chief were a source of the greatest anguish to the virtuous honourable old monarch who was now seventy years old and half blind, and after this he appears to have taken little interest in political questions.

In the next year the illness of his beloved daughter, the Princess Amelia, completely bowed him to the earth, and his old malady finally conquering him, on February 5th, 1811, he assented to the Regency Bill, and gradually relapsed into a form of dementia characterised by religious and other delusions. After nine years of increasing deafness, blindness, and loss of mental power, with occasional glimpses of reason, George III. died in 1820, at the ripe age of eighty-one years.

Section II.—George IV.

George IV. was born and created Prince of Wales in 1762, and his early political opinions were imbibed from Fox and the Whigs, but he appears to have been more influenced by personal friendships than by definite principles. In 1797, the Prince wrote to Pitt a long letter on the situation, in which he argued that France would consider no expense too great and no risk sufficient to deter her from the prosecution of the plan she had formed for the pur-

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pose of depriving Great Britain of the aid, support, and advantages derived from Ireland. He proceeded to recommend that Catholic emancipation should be granted before it was demanded, since otherwise it would appear as though it were extorted through fear. "I feel myself called upon to declare my decided opinion that no time ought to be lost in repealing every exclusive restriction and disqualification on the Irish Roman Catholics."[1]

After war had been declared with France, the Prince worried the King with a series of letters requesting a more important command in the army than that of a colonel, but the Prime Minister answered that there was no situation suitable for the Prince of Wales. In 1803 he communicated in a circuitous manner to Pitt, who had then returned to power, that he had not the slightest disinclination towards him, and that when he ascended the throne, although he had at first thought of Lord Moira and then Mr Fox, he had eventually decided to employ him as first Minister. Pitt took little pains to conceal the contempt he always felt for the Prince of Wales, and Fox, although he joined with and humoured him in his dissipations and follies, regarded his political opinions merely with an easy good natured toleration. In 1805 the first symptom of change appeared in the political opinions of the Prince of Wales and Fox began to doubt his royal friend, and after the death of Pitt in the following year the old warmth of friendship soon abated. The Prince, however, diligently touted for his friends, and after the death of Fox gained many offices for them. At this time his opinions on the Catholic question had undergone

[1] "Life of George IV.": Percy Fitzgerald, vol. i. p. 298.

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a great change, and he opposed all concessions vigorously and was almost as relieved as was his father when the Ministry of all the talents had disappeared. During the next year or two he professed to be allied to no party, but when the King became insane he had not won the confidence of Mr Perceval who was then Prime Minister, and the Queen was strongly opposed to giving him a free hand. The Regency question had been debated before in 1788 when the King was temporarily insane, and it was decided by Pitt and the Tories that should the King's malady continue, the Prince of Wales should be made Regent and exercise the Royal Prerogative with certain restrictions.

This principle was adopted by Perceval at this date and the Prince was restricted from creating Peers, from granting offices in reversions or pensions, from touching the King's property, which was to remain with the trustees, and from the care of the King's person, which was entrusted to the Queen and a Council. The Prince strongly objected to these restrictions and all of his brothers, the Royal Dukes, wrote to Perceval "to enter our solemn protest against measures that we consider as perfectly unconstitutional, as they are contrary to, and subversive of, the principles which seated our family upon the throne of these realms." On January 1st, 1811, the proposal of the Opposition in the House of Commons that there should be no restrictions was defeated by only twenty-four votes, and on the question of entrusting the household to the Queen the Government was defeated, the Opposition being willing to concede to her only the direction of the officials necessary for the care of the King's person.

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At this time Sheridan was the secret adviser of the Prince, and Lords Grey and Grenville were greatly annoyed at his conduct in acting behind their backs. At first the Regent intended to dismiss Perceval and the Government, but the Queen wrote and said the King might recover at any moment and pressed him to wait, and his lady friends, Mrs Fitzherbert and Lady Hertford, to whom he spoke openly on most important affairs of State, also assured him that he ought to retain his Ministers. He therefore wrote to Perceval on February 4th that it was "his intention not to remove from their stations those whom he finds there as His Majesty's official servants," at the same time stating that "the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father leads him to dread that any act of the Regent might in the smallest degree have the effect of interfering with the progress of his Sovereign's recovery. This consideration *alone* dictates the decision now communicated to Mr Perceval."

In the following year, when the restrictions had lapsed, and the Regent exercised the full regal prerogative, he wrote to the Duke of York stating that he should feel gratified if some of those persons with whom the early habits of his life were formed would strengthen his hands and form a part of his Government. At this time Grenville again tried to force on the question of Catholic grievances, and the Regent, hoping to silence the Whig leaders and the *Morning Chronicle*, which at this time strongly abused him, proposed to Lords Grenville and Grey that they should join Perceval, and when they naturally refused to do so, he dropped them alto-

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gether, and henceforth supported the purely Tory Government; the Regent next adopted the unprecedented principle of commanding the Ministers to choose their own leader, and in this manner Lord Liverpool became Premier, and remained so until his death fifteen years afterwards.

In 1814 great rejoicings were occasioned by the downfall of Napoleon, and the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia visited the Regent, who received them in great State, and on this, as on all other occasions of ceremonial and pageantry, displayed his most fascinating theatrical display of courteous manners and kindly consideration. But in spite of the rejoicings after Waterloo, great discontent and distress existed in the country, and it was an inopportune moment to bring before Parliament the question of the Regent's debts, which were contracted on luxurious palaces and mistresses. This request for a settlement of his debts made the Regent very unpopular in the country, nor did the fact that he was opposed to the Corn Bill of 1815 allay the fury of the populace against him.

After the Treaty of Vienna had settled the affairs of the Continent, and the Bourbons had been restored to France, the continental monarchs joined in a treaty known as the Holy Alliance, which was directed against all republican principles generally, and was fashioned with the idea of bolstering up the old principle of the divine right of kings by force of arms if necessary. When asked to join it, the Regent, advised by his Ministers, wrote that he concurred in the principles, but that "the forms of the British Constitution which I am called

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upon to maintain in the name and in the place of the King my father, prevent me from acceding to the treaty in the form in which it is laid before me."

The Regent had in reality very little weight in the councils of the nation, and his early friends, Grey, Grenville, and Fox, speedily discovered his true worth, and attached no importance to his opinion. His boon companions were men of pleasure, such as Sheridan, and Lords Moira and Yarmouth, needy officers, and scheming women, who chiefly influenced his actions. During the next few years the discontent and distress in the country led to serious rioting, which the Government suppressed by stern repressive measures, and by the celebrated Acts of 1819, all of which met with the Regent's approval.

In 1820 the King died, and the Regent ascended the throne, and at once endeavoured to divorce his Queen, partly because he wished for an heir, and partly because he hated her, but it is necessary to glance back at the history of this unfortunate marriage. At the age of twenty-three he had gone through the ceremony of marriage with Mrs Fitzherbert, but in 1795 he was urged by the King to contract a marriage with Princess Caroline of Brunswick. The vicious, false, weak, changeable mind of the Prince was little adapted, either to control by firmness or to win by admiration, the obstinate, fascinating, jealous shrew who was chosen for his bride, and after the birth of one daughter they separated.

Ten years after a serious scandal was bruited abroad that the Princess had given birth to a child

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at Blackheath, but no proof of this was forthcoming. Nevertheless, the Prince, after he had become Regent, restricted the intercourse between his wife and daughter, and refused to see the former or allow her to come to Court. Eventually she left England in 1814, and remained abroad until she returned to claim her position as Queen in 1820. Although neither of this ill-assorted couple was deserving of pity, the action of the Prince was regarded by the public as undignified, unmanly, and cruel, and the Princess posed as a martyr, so that when the action for divorce was instituted by the Government, the country was loud in its clamour against the measure, and the Radical Press seized the opportunity of attacking the Ministers.

The Queen at first consented to comply with the desires of the House, and a motion was proposed and carried, but when four delegated members waited upon her, she stated that she would decide by her own feelings and conscience whether she would accept any proposed measure. Brougham, who was the Queen's advocate, spoke with the greatest contempt of the tribunal of the House of Lords, and on the third reading of the Divorce Bill, the majority in favour of it sank to nine, and since the action was very unpopular the Ministers withdrew the measure, and the multitude lustily cheered. During the next year the Government made an allowance to the Queen, which she regarded as "the first act of justice of His Majesty towards her."

This trial was used by Canning as a pretext to retire from the Government, but there is no doubt that the chief cause was the impossibility of con-

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tinuing to act in harmony with the other Ministers, and especially with Castlereagh.[1]

During the next few years the King affected to give his whole confidence to the Duke of Wellington, and disliked Canning intensely, because of his action during the trial of the Queen, and his ideas regarding the independence of the Spanish Colonies, and in relation to trade and navigation. In 1825 he wrote an account of his views for the consideration of the Cabinet. In this document he stated that the foreign policy should be conducted on the principle of unanimity of co-operation with the Powers; that the "active firebrands of Ireland" were making dangerous attempts, "under the deceptive pretence of Catholic Emancipation," and that since he had long ago withdrawn from the liberalism of his early friends, which was "the bane which threatened our happy constitution," "can the present Government suppose that the King will permit any individual to force upon him at this time a line of policy of which he so entirely disapproves?"

At this time the King had frequent interviews with the representatives of foreign Powers, the Metternichs, Esterhazys, and Madame de Lieven, who apparently were more interested in the internal government of England than in the consideration of their duties to their own countries. The King next demanded that each member of the Cabinet should send him a separate minute stating his opinion on the policy of the Government,[2] which course

[1] Stapleton: "Some Official Correspondence of George Canning," vol. i. p. 12.

[2] "Life of George IV.": Percy Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 336.

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was a deliberate attempt to upset the principle of the conjoint responsibility of the Cabinet.

In 1827, after the death of Lord Liverpool, the King wished the Cabinet to elect for its head a Peer with similar views, but eventually he sent for Canning and intrusted him with the task of forming a Government. The Duke of Wellington then became offended, although there is no evidence to suppose he expected or wished to succeed Liverpool himself, and resigned his office of Commander-in-Chief, whereupon the King himself wished to fill it because he already signed commissions, but he was dissuaded from this project by Canning who induced him to reinstate the Duke. The demand for Catholic Emancipation now became very strong, both in the House of Commons and in Ireland, and after O'Connell was elected for Clare, both Peel and Wellington, who sensibly followed the politician in all his actions, recognised that the time had come when it would be dangerous to refuse concessions. Nevertheless the King wrote in August 1828, "The sentiments of the King upon Catholic Emancipation are those of his revered and excellent father. From these sentiments the King never can and never will deviate."

On March 3rd, 1829, the Wellington Cabinet resigned because the King obstinately refused to allow them to bring in a measure relieving the Catholics, but since it was impossible to find Ministers not pledged to the measure, the King at last yielded and wrote two days later: "As I find the country would be left without an administration, I have decided to yield my opinion to that which is considered by the Cabinet to be for the

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immediate interests of the country. Under these circumstances you have my consent to proceed as you propose with the measure."

A few weeks before he died in 1830, the King wished to exercise the prerogative of pardoning in the case of an Irish gentleman convicted of a capital offence, but was not permitted to do so by the Cabinet.

George IV. was always unpopular, and everything united to render him contemptible and odious. "It may therefore be said that from the beginning of his Regency in 1811 to the close of his reign in 1830, the regal influence was limited to the strict exercise of the prerogative. George IV. had no personal influence, and instead of his popularity supporting the Ministry, the difficulty was for the Ministry to support his unpopularity and to uphold the respect for the Crown when it encircled the head of such a Sovereign."[1]

Section III.—William IV[2]

The third son of George III. was born in 1765, and entered the navy as a midshipman at the age of fourteen. He early took an interest in politics and made many ridiculous speeches in the House of Lords, but his heart was always that of a sailor, and his bosom friends were usually admirals.

In 1800 he expressed the extraordinary views that an adulterer was "an insidious and designing villain who would ever be held in disgrace and abhorrence by an enlightened and civilised society,"

[1] "Administration of Great Britain, 1783 to 1830," Sir G. C. Lewis, p. 421.

[2] "Life and Times of William IV.," by Percy Fitzgerald.

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and that the husband who obtained a pecuniary reward was not a very honourable man if, when he received it, he put it in his own pocket instead of returning it to the purse of the defendant. He married Mrs Jordan by whom he had a large family of illegitimate children, and lived a far less dissipated and vicious life than his elder brother. He defended the slave owners in the House of Lords, and argued that "none but fanatics or hypocrites were for the abolition." Lord Grenville merely respectfully censured the language of the Royal Duke, but he was mercilessly ridiculed and caricatured by the public.

Just before the outbreak of the war with France he wrote to Nelson: "I much doubt whether any fleet will be equipped, and still less do I see any chance of a rupture between this country and France. At the same time, this pernicious and fallacious system of equality and universal liberty must be checked, or else we shall here have the most dreadful consequences."

In 1793 he was promoted to be Rear Admiral of the Red, and in the next year defended the war, and being convinced that it was popular, volunteered to serve in it, "so that when my gallant countrymen are fighting the cause of their country and their sovereign, I may not have the imputation thrown upon me of living a life of inglorious ease when I ought to be in the front of danger." In 1799 he wrote: "As for politics, you never heard me say I thought the present administration efficient, but I see no likelihood of a change . . . the Crown, the Union with Ireland, and above all the dread of the times will, in my opinion, prevent a change of men."

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On the death of the Duke of York in 1827 he became heir to the throne, and Canning, foolishly as it proved, revived and conferred upon him the office of Lord High Admiral. At this time the Powers were allied to wrest the Greeks from the Ottoman rule and to establish an independent kingdom, and the newly created Lord High Admiral wrote to Admiral Codrington, who commanded the English Fleet, that he was not to permit himself "to be commanded by the Admirals of either of the other Powers." After the battle of Navarino, in which there is little doubt the Admiral exceeded his instructions, the Duke at once sent his congratulations and a sword, and stated that he would uphold him although "Ministers would gladly shelter themselves from the odium of the nation by throwing the blame on Codrington." But the Lord High Admiral speedily showed that he had mistaken the nature of his office, and attempted to act in an autocratic manner without consulting his Council. This was strongly censured by the Duke of Wellington, and drew from the King the statement that "The Lord High Admiral shall strictly obey the laws enacted by Parliament as attached to his present station, or I desire immediately to receive his resignation."

The Duke therefore resigned, but wrote excusing the King for his conduct, because he understood "he could not do otherwise than support his Ministers." Like his brother he was a consistent Whig until he ascended the throne, but unlike him steadily supported Catholic Emancipation, and made a sound sensible speech in the final debate. "He wished to God that His Majesty's Ministers had been

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unanimous on that question long ago; or he rather wished that a united administration could have been formed in 1804 for the purpose of carrying this measure, for from that hour to the present his opinion had invariably been, that what was falsely called concession ought to have been resorted to."

After his accession in 1830, William IV. was worried by his large illegitimate family for titles and honours, and several of his children were ennobled without arousing much comment or opposition in the country. At first he was strongly opposed to Reform, and regarded universal suffrage as "one of the wild projects which have sprung from revolutionary speculation."

When the Ministers advised a dissolution in 1831, the King sent a long exposition of his sentiments. He considered "this perilous measure as an experiment. As a fearful experiment," and continued, "It is impossible not to view with alarm the character of the attempts which have for some time past been making to invade property and to destroy the gradations and the links of society, and the success which has attended those attempts in their effects upon the lower orders, not a little aided by the poisonous influence of a licentious and unobstructed press." The King in person next prorogued and dissolved Parliament, with the result that a great majority of reformers were returned at the General Election. The King then wishing "not to detach himself from the great badge of the aristocracy, therefore urged modifications," but Lord Grey replied that he would not allow any alterations that would satisfy enemies, and complained that the King was not attempting to reconcile persons to the measure. This communi-

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cation drew the following reply: "The King is perfectly sensible of the necessity of giving a positive and unequivocal support to his Government, and he had flattered himself that the whole of his conduct had been calculated to satisfy his Government and the country." After the Reform Bill had been thrown out by the Lords, the King wrote to Earl Grey stating that he had anticipated such a result, and hoped that neither resignation nor the dangerous suggestion of creating peers would be considered, to which Lord Grey replied that "The amount of the majority puts all notion of an attempt to counteract it by a further creation of Peers quite out of the question." The King then agreed that "a measure substantially the same should be introduced," and Lord Grey pointing out the absolute necessity of creating Peers unless the Lords yielded, he suggested that the addition should be made "exclusively by calling up eldest sons, or collateral heirs to Peerages, where no direct heirs are likely to succeed."

Meanwhile, efforts were still being made to persuade the King to refuse his assent, and eventually he yielded to the Tories and asked the Duke of Wellington to form a Government in May 1832, with the object of passing a Reform Bill; but the Duke failed to form an administration, and on May 17th "The King grants permission to Earl Grey, and to his Chancellor Lord Brougham, to create such a number of Peers as will be sufficient to insure the passing of the Reform Bill—first calling Peers' eldest sons." When this permission was made known the Lords no longer opposed the Measure, and it was passed by a large majority.

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But the new Parliament which assembled in 1833, although it contained a large majority composed of Whigs, Radicals, and repealers of the Irish Union, was divided in its opinions, and Lord Grey retired in the next year and was followed by Lord Melbourne, who, after Lord Althorp, the Leader of the House of Commons had succeeded to the peerage, tendered a semi-resignation which was promptly taken by the King (see p. 12), and Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister for a few months. But the Whig and Radical majority constantly defeated the Tory Government, and Melbourne returned to power in 1835 and remained in office for over six years, with Palmerston as Foreign Secretary and Russell at the Home Office.

On January 14th, 1835, the King drew up a statement of the principles by which he was guided from 1830-1835 for the consideration of the Cabinet. In Foreign Affairs he earnestly endeavoured to prevail "upon his Government, and more especially upon the individual intrusted with the administration of the Foreign Affairs, to check the disposition which had been shown by the French Government to tolerate, if not to countenance and encourage a system of propagandism tending to distort and agitate the neighbouring States." His Majesty at all times felt solicitous to maintain the most friendly relations with Austria and Prussia, and credits the late administration with pursuing a course in accordance with his wishes. "He is sensible, indeed, that too great a disposition was manifested on some occasions to interfere in the internal arrangements and regulations of other States; and this disposition may possibly be attributed to a predilection for

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Liberal institutions and constitutional innovations which it might be considered advisable or necessary to manifest in deference to popular opinion and support." His Majesty concurred with his Government in supporting the Queen of Portugal, because he considered the continued sovereignty of Don Miguel a great evil, and not because he desired to encourage the introduction of a constitutional form of Government, which he thought the great majority of the Portuguese rejected. The King, however, approved of non-intervention in the affairs of Spain.

Concerning Russian affairs, the King was sorry that his Government had not strengthened their material force in the Mediterranean, because the Porte had been so much crippled in her naval resources that Russia simply dictated the treaty of July 8th, 1833, "obviously extorted with a view to secure to herself advantages of navigation from which other powers should be excluded," and he still considers that "Russia had never abandoned, and will never lose sight of her ambitious projects in that quarter, and suggests that a strong squadron should be established in the Mediterranean to prevent further encroachments of Mehemet Ali, and against the eventual designs of Russia."

William IV. was undoubtedly by nature an honest man, who genuinely did his best to fulfil his duty, and, although he did not possess a strong intellect, was not easily led by courtiers, and seems to have recognised the true value of back-stair influence. He resisted Reform until he was assured that no Government could be found which would oppose it, just as his brother and predecessor had resisted

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Catholic Emancipation, but neither Monarch can be blamed for using their prerogative to prohibit the introduction of measures which their consciences could not approve.

In judging their characters also, we must take into consideration the general lax morality of all classes at the beginning of the century, and while not attempting to excuse profligacy and vice, we must not sentence them as severely as we should if their lives had been exceptionally evil for the period in which they reigned.

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CHAPTER II

THE QUEEN

We have already discussed the actual power possessed at the present day by the Crown, and now we propose to study the much more interesting subject of the influence which the Sovereign exerts on the course of public affairs. The power of the Queen is an actual determinable quantity, defined and limited by statute and custom law, but her influence is very great, and has extended over most of the globe for the greater part of a century. But although great and far reaching, the royal influence is an ill-defined psychological force, difficult to detect, either in its application or its results, and impossible therefore clearly to demonstrate. We do not intend here to comment upon the immense influence for good which has been exerted by Her Majesty and the Prince Consort in the higher arts and education and by domestic example, but to confine ourselves entirely to a consideration of the Royal influence on political affairs, and we intend carefully only to narrate facts which have become public property, either during the course of events or which have been published in the various histories of the reign and the biographies of those who were in close association with the Court. For convenience of description, the subject will be divided into (1) influence over foreign affairs, (2) influence over Ministers, and (3) influence over the people.

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Section I.—Influence over Foreign Monarchs

The political intercourse between the British Sovereigns and foreign Monarchs is always conducted with the advice of Ministers, and the Queen never writes to, or receives a letter from any one of them without submitting it to the Foreign Secretary or the Prime Minister. Nevertheless, a letter written by the Queen would have a greater effect on another Monarch than a communication through the usual diplomatic channels, and personal friendship undoubtedly affected, to a great extent, the actions of those rulers, such as Napoleon and the Kings of Prussia, who exerted a great influence over their Governments. Again, the brilliant ceremonials attending the visit of a foreign potentate affect the minds of the people, and give rise to an impression that good feeling exists between his country and ours. It will be, therefore, of interest briefly to note the important results arising from the personal friendships of the Queen and Prince Consort with the Monarchs of Europe, and their bearing on the foreign policy pursued by Ministers.

(*a*) French Monarchs.

In the early period of the reign, the friendship between England and France was increased and cemented by the visits of the Queen to Louis Philippe, and both nations expressed the hope that they would long remain on terms of peace and amity. Nevertheless, although Aberdeen and Guizot were reassuring each other as to the peaceful intentions of their respective nations, the rapid and excessive increase of French armaments caused Sir Robert Peel to adopt defensive pre-

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cautions. At this time the Duke of Wellington was Commander-in-Chief, and the warlike Earl of Ellenborough was First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Queen wrote: "The only fear the Queen has about Lord Ellenborough is that if he and the Duke of Wellington get together, the warlike preparations by sea and land may be urged a little *too* strongly."[1]

But the friendly feeling of the two nations was unfortunately neutralised to a great extent by the action of the King and Guizot in marrying the Duke of Montpensier to the sister of the Queen of Spain, and the Queen herself to her cousin, Don Francisco d'Assis, with the idea of bringing France and Spain eventually under one dynasty.

It is difficult to understand how these Spanish marriages could have affected England, but there is little doubt that the active opposition of Lord Palmerston was an important factor in bringing them about so suddenly and hastily, and the fierce newspaper warfare inflamed the minds of both countries.

After the fall of Louis Philippe in 1848, the hospitality of the English Court was freely extended to him and his family; but the Queen expressed her views on the duty of this country not to interfere in the internal affairs of France, and wrote as follows to the King of Belgium: "We do everything we can for the poor family, who are, indeed, sorely to be pitied, but you will naturally understand that we cannot take a hostile position to the new state of things in France. We leave them alone, but if a Government which has the approbation of the country be formed, we shall feel it necessary to recognise it, in order to pin them down to main-

[1] "Life of Sir Robert Peel," J. S. Parker, vol. iii. p. 412.

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tain peace and the existing treaties, which is of the greatest importance." [1]

Again after the *coup d' état* of 1851, Lord Palmerston wrote to the British Ambassador in Paris, "I am commanded by Her Majesty to instruct your Excellency to make no change in your relations with the French Government. It is Her Majesty's desire that nothing should be done by her Ambassador in Paris which could wear the appearance of an interference of any kind in the internal affairs of France." These instances show that any form of Government a country adopts is at once recognised and that no consideration of personal friendship is allowed to alter this rule.

The friendship between the Queen and Napoleon influenced the policy of the two countries to a great extent, and, if the Emperor had possessed a more stable mind, and had not intrigued in such a feeble manner with Germany and Italy, the fate of the Bonaparte dynasty might have been very different. Although Napoleon entered into the Crimean War with the double purpose of cementing his friendship with the English, and of establishing himself firmly on the throne by satisfying the martial instincts of the French nation, the French people were only roused, as were their allies across the Channel, by the affair of Sinope; and Napoleon wrote to the Czar that "the sound of the cannon shot at Sinope reverberated painfully in the hearts of all those who in England and in France respect national dignity."

This letter drew back the retort from the Czar that "Russia will prove herself in 1854 what she

[1] "Life of Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 27.

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was in 1812," which naturally roused the greatest indignation.

In 1854 the Prince Consort paid a visit to the Emperor to inspect his camp near Boulogne, and in the beginning of the next year the latter wrote to Lord Palmerston that he intended to go himself to the Crimea. Lord Clarendon crossed the Channel to discuss the subject, and strongly disadvised such a step, suggesting instead that the Emperor should visit the Queen. The promised visit took place in April, and the Emperor was then finally dissuaded from his project by the Prince Consort, and was thus prevented from interfering with the actions of the Generals during the campaign.

After the Crimean War, Napoleon again visited the Queen during the negotiations for the settlement of the Principalities. The Emperor was in favour of their union, and believed that the election for the Divan of Moldavia, which had been convoked by the Sultan in pursuance of the Treaty of Paris, had been effected by tampering with the electoral lists, and France, Russia and Sardinia threatened to withdraw their Ambassadors from Constantinople unless the elections were annulled. Affected by the skilful arguments of the Prince Consort, the Emperor yielded on the question of union, and England agreed to make the Porte annul the elections. Unfortunately the Emperor did not keep his word, and the settlement of the Principalities under Prince Courya took place in 1861.

But the affection and admiration of the Emperor for the Queen and her consort did not prevent him constantly intriguing, and at the very moment when

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they were his guests at the opening of Cherbourg Harbour, he was concluding arrangements with Count Cavour for supporting Sardinia and Piedmont in the war between Austria and Italy, and for the marriage of Prince Napoleon with the daughter of Victor Emanuel.

The Queen was strongly opposed to this proposed war, and wrote in the following forcible language to the Emperor: "Your Majesty has now an opportunity, either by listening to the dictates of humanity and justice, and by showing to the world your intention to strictly adhere to the faithful observance of treaties, of calming the apprehensions of Europe, and of restoring its confidence in the pacific policy of your Majesty, or, on the other hand, by lending an ear to those who have an interest in creating confusion, of involving Europe in a war whose extent and duration it is scarcely possible to foresee, and which, whatever glory it may add to the arms of France, cannot but interfere materially with her internal prosperity and financial credit."

On the same date the Prince Consort wrote to the Prince Regent of Prussia, advising him to "hold stoutly by the maintenance of existing treaties, and in Germany to urge the organisation of the Confederate forces."

The Queen also wrote to the Emperor of Austria offering to mediate between the Powers. Nevertheless, the war took place, and after the unsatisfactory Peace of Villafrance, the Emperor demanded of Cavour the cession of Savoy and Nice, which at once proved that the true object of Napoleon was to acquire territory, and not to aid in liberating Italy from Austria. This transaction naturally

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roused the greatest indignation in England and the Press indulged in the bitterest of attacks, so that, at this time, the danger of a rupture between France and England was very great, but it was averted by the firm but conciliatory attitude of Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, and there can be no doubt that Napoleon, who reigned practically as an autocrat, elected periodically by a carefully engineered plebiscite, was very averse to breaking his friendship with the English Court. But from this date he never regained the complete confidence of the Queen or the country, and after losing the respect of the French by failing to recognise the growing demand at home for a Constitutional Government, and by being made the tool of Bismarck abroad, his final fall at Sedan was but little regretted by anyone.

(*b*) Russian Monarchs.

The interests of Russia have always been opposed to those of England, and the repeated attempts of the former to acquire the European territories of the Sultan have always been resisted by the latter. Nevertheless, the personal friendship of the Emperor Nicholas and the Queen and Prince Consort was manifested in 1844 by a visit to this country, and he appears to have created a favourable impression at the Court. During the visit a secret document was signed by Wellington, Peel and Aberdeen, to the effect that should a crisis occur in Turkey, England and Russia were to come to an understanding with each other.

This was apparently misunderstood by the Emperor, who imagined—or pretended he imagined—that England would not resist his advance on Turkey,

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and a fortnight before the engagement at Sinopè, he wrote to the Queen that he was full of surprise that there should be any misunderstanding between Her Majesty's Government and his own as to the affairs of Turkey, and that he appealed to Her Majesty's "good faith" and wisdom to decide between them. The Government replied to this that Russia's interpretation of her treaty obligations was, in their opinion, "not susceptible of the extended meaning" put upon it.

The opinion of the Prince Consort, written for the consideration of the Cabinet at this time was as follows: "It will be said that England and Europe have a strong interest, setting all Turkish considerations aside, that Constantinople and the Turkish territory should not fall into the hands of Russia, and that they should, in the last extremity, even go to war to prevent such an overthrow of the balance of power. This must be admitted, and such a war may be right and wise."

On the death of the Emperor Nicholas during the war, his successor carried on the same policy, but in 1857, after the Treaty of Paris, he made flattering advances towards Napoleon, and sent the Grand Duke Constantine to Paris. This action was noted by the Prince Consort, who wrote warning the Emperor of the self-seeking object of Russia. Thirteen years after, during the Franco-Prussian War, Russia, acting on the advice of Bismarck, re-established her fleet in the Black Sea, and thus renounced the Treaty of Paris.

In 1878 Russia once more endeavoured to reach Constantinople, but, after a terrible and disastrous war, only succeeded in acquiring Kars and Batoum,

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and some authority over the Principalities, which has been of no particular benefit to her. Since then, Russia has steadily advanced into Asia, towards the Afghan frontier, with the hope of invading India, but Lord Curzon sums up her policy in this direction as follows: "The Russian advances, fighting, with his mind turned in the same direction. His object is not Calcutta, but Constantinople; not the Ganges, but the Golden Horn. He believes that the Keys of the Bosphorus are more likely to be won on the banks of the Helmund than on the heights of Plevna. To keep England quiet in Europe, by keeping her employed in Asia, that, briefly put, is the sum and substance of the Russian policy."[1]

The present Emperor is married to the granddaughter of the Queen, and is of a pacific nature, but Russian policy cannot be altered or arrested even by the most autocratic of all rulers, and at the very time when he astonished the world by proposing a congress for 1899 to discuss the advisability of arresting the armaments of Europe, his energetic statesmen and generals were arming with feverish haste the newly-acquired Port Arthur in China.

(*c*) Prussian and German Monarchs.

The relationship between England and Germany ought to be always of the most friendly nature, for in no part of the world do our interests clash, we are distant cousins, and our Royal families are closely related. It is therefore of the greatest interest to study the history of the period during which the influence of the Queen has, directly

[1] "Russia in Central Asia," Lord Curzon, p. 321.

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and indirectly, affected the welfare of the German Empire.

The Prince Consort's power of foresight was well illustrated in 1849. Greville relates: "Aberdeen spoke much of the Queen and Prince, of course with great praise. He said the Prince's views were generally sound and wise, with one exception, which was his violent and incorrigible German Unionism. He goes all lengths with Prussia; will not hear of the moderate plan of a species of federalism based on the Treaty of Vienna, and the old relation with Germany; and insists upon a new German Empire, with the King of Prussia for its head."[1]

Unfortunately, neither the Prince nor Lord Aberdeen lived to see this plan actually carried out. In 1850 the Prince Consort, speaking to Lord Palmerston, stated that the Queen had objected to the London Protocol, stating that the Great Powers desired to see the integrity of the Danish Monarchy preserved, but that her opinion was overruled.[2] She realised that the possession of the Duchies by Germany was very important as affording her an outlet to the sea, and that if Holstein were attacked, as well as Schleswig, by the King of Denmark, nothing could prevent Germany going to her assistance. Prussia refused the Protocol, but peace was fortunately maintained by the Convention of Olmutz between Austria and Prussia, which disarmed Holstein.

The Queen and the Prince were very indignant with the King of Prussia, because he did not join with the Powers in endeavouring to suppress the

[1] Greville's "Memoirs," vol. iii. p. 298.
[2] "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 309.

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actions of Russia which led to the Crimean War, and the Queen wrote as follows: "Up to the present hour I have regarded Prussia as one of the five Great Powers which, since the Peace of 1815, have been the guarantors of treaties, the guardians of civilisation, the champions of right, and ultimate arbitrators of the nations; and I have for my part felt the holy duty to which they were thus divinely called, being at the same time perfectly alive to the obligations, serious as these are and fraught with danger which it imposes. Renounce these obligations, my dear brother, and in doing so you renounce for Prussia the status she has hitherto held."[1] But even such a strongly worded reproach failed to rouse the King to action, and eventually Prussia declared that should Austria enter the field against Russia, she would consider herself absolved from the conditions of the offensive and defensive alliance which existed between her and the Emperor.

But soon after the war, the countries were drawn more closely together by the announcement of the projected marriage of the Princess Victoria to the Crown Prince of Prussia, and in 1858 the marriage took place, while in the same year the Prince of Prussia was appointed Regent on the breaking down of the health of the King. Both of these events undoubtedly greatly affected the subsequent course of affairs in Germany and the advice which the Prince Consort frequently gave to the Regent was usually acted upon.

For example, in May before the elections, he wrote: "The way the Manteuffel Ministry abused

[1] "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 44.

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their influence at the last election roused in the minds of all patriotic and thinking men a feeling of disgust so deep and well founded, that you are not only justified, but bound as a sacred duty, to forbid and to prevent any repetition of these shameful proceedings under the sanction of your name. That people will try to make political capital of the popularity of your name is, of course, to be expected. But to prevent this, and to restore to the people the unrestricted exercise of the political right which the King solemnly assured to them by the Constitution, will be an office replete with blessings to yourself and to Prussia."[1]

This advice strengthened the Regent in the liberal policy he had adopted, and "the voice of the country for the first time since Prussia had possessed a Parliament, was allowed to be heard and a Chamber was brought together which represented the country, and was not merely as heretofore a convenient tool for the purposes of an administration by whom it had been packed."[1]

But not only was the advice of the Prince of great use to the Regent, but the letters of the latter were of immense service to Lord John Russell's Government, and in 1860, after the Regent met the Emperor of Austria, he wrote a full account of the transactions to the Prince.

Space, however, compels us to pass rapidly on to the effect on Germany of the training of the Princess, now Empress Frederick and mother of the present Emperor. She had been early taught to study politics, and after her marriage the letters of the Prince constantly dealt with subjects of State

[1] "Life of the Prince Consort," vol iv. p. 326.

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interest. The following extracts are very pregnant:—March 7th, 1860: "The lowering of import duties, according to all practical experience, increases consumption so that larger imports are made than under the higher tariff." March 14th: "Prussia's position is a weak one, and will continue to be so, as long as she does not morally dominate Germany; and to be herself German is the secret to bring this about." The Crown Prince, who appears to have imbibed some of the highest constitutional principles from his wife, could not reconcile many of the actions of Bismarck to his conscience, and wrote to him on June 30th, 1863, complaining that he had not communicated officially to the Ministry of State his protest respecting the rescript restricting the liberty of the press. "A loyal administration of the laws and of the constitution, respect and goodwill towards an easily led, intelligent and capable people, these are the principles which, in my opinion, should guide every Government in the treatment of the country." [1]

He complained that he could not bring Bismarck's policy into harmony with these principles, and a little later declared himself in public to be opposed to the policy of his father. Bismarck thought that this was due to the influence of the Crown Princess on her husband, and when we contrast the Chancellor's methods of government with the strictly honourable constitutional principles with which she had been imbued, it seems very probable that his surmise was correct.

During a lull in the siege of Paris, on November

[1] "Bismarck: some secret pages of his history," Dr Moritz Busch, vol. iii. p. 235.

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19th, 1870, Bismarck proposed that the bombardment should proceed and the King had no objection, but the Generals said they were not ready. Dr Busch, relating this instance, thus proceeds: "It appeared from some further remarks of the Minister that, in his opinion, first Queen Victoria, and then, at her instance, the Crown Princess, and finally the Crown Prince persuaded by his consort, will not have Paris bombarded, while the Generals cannot bombard the city out of consideration for the views of the Crown Prince, who will, of course, be the future King, and will have the appointment of Ministers of War, commandants of army corps, and field marshals." [1]

Now, although the after dinner confidences of Prince Bismarck to his friend Dr Busch are by no means official statements, yet, if on several different occasions the same sentiments are expressed, we may reasonably infer that they represented the real thoughts of the Chancellor. In the official version of Bismarck's life the following account occurs: "In the Council of War, Roon was the only supporter of my opinion that we should lose no time about ending the war, if we wanted to make sure of stopping interferences from the neutrals and their congress; he advocated the necessity of pressing forward the attack against Paris with heavy guns, in opposition to the method of famine which in the circles where exalted ladies met was regarded as more humane." [2]

Both Queen Augusta and the Crown Princess were undoubtedly opposed to much of Bismarck's

[1] "Bismarck: some secret pages of his history," Dr Moritz Busch, vol. i. p. 315.

[2] "Bismarck: Written and Dictated by Himself," translated by A. J. Butler.

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policy, and the former was decidedly in favour of the Ultramontanes, and this caused the famous friction articles of 1877, which directly attacked a certain "exalted lady," and hinted that the Chancellor would retire, because he was embarrassed by Ultramontanism. Bismarck also accused the Empress of writing letters to the Queen of England, which she afterwards mentioned to her consort, who, however, said nothing about them to him. The Chancellor spoke of the "English self conceit" of the Crown Princess, but that the Queen "on the whole has been favourable to us." [1]

On other occasions he said that the Crown Princess ."is a Liberal Englishwoman, a follower of Gladstone," and that "she has more influence upon her consort than is desirable." [2] "He further observed that the Crown Prince would be influenced in his liking for England by consideration for Queen Victoria." [3] We can, therefore, justly infer that the training of the son of the Crown Prince, the present Emperor, would cause him to appreciate and admire the English methods of government, and to dislike many of those adopted by his grandfather's Chancellor.

We have only space here to give two examples of those methods, both of which are already popular history. Before the Franco-Prussian war, Bismarck did not scruple to so alter the famous telegram from Ems, that, without substituting new words, an entirely different and exaggerated meaning was worked into it. But in 1879 he surpassed this by negotiat-

[1] "Bismarck: some secret pages of his history," Dr Moritz Busch, vol. iii. p. 95.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 111.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 140.

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ing a defensive alliance with Austria against Russia, when already Prussia had a convention with Russia against Austria. The Emperor could not reconcile this at all with his conscience, and wrote on October 2nd to Bismarck: "After again extending the hand in friendship to the Emperor Alexander, after the removal of misunderstandings (at Alexandroso), am I now to conclude an alliance against him, even of a defensive character, in which he alone is referred to, as the presumable aggressor and keep this intention a secret from him? I cannot be guilty of such an act of disloyalty."[1] In order to gain his end Bismarck was, against his will, compelled to use the Cabinet in order to persuade the Emperor, who although he was not convinced by the arguments of policy, gave the promise to ratify the treaty only because he was averse to ministerial changes.

In 1888, both the Emperors William I. and Frederick died and the present Emperor succeeded, and one of the first measures of the new Kaiser was to issue an Imperial Rescript on the labour question, which elicited the remark from Bucher that "he imagined the Emperor was going further in this matter than the Chancellor could approve of."[2]

The Liberal reform of the Communal Regulation was also greatly opposed by Bismarck, but the ultimate cause of his resignation appears to have been the insistence of the Emperor that the Ministers should be able to address him or receive orders from him direct, and not through the Minister President as had been ordered in 1852.

[1] "Bismarck," Busch, vol. iii. p. 266.
[2] "Bismarck," vol. ii. p. 268.

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We may now hope that both family affection and the desire for the peace of Europe will strengthen the bonds between England and Germany, and further cement the goodwill felt by all educated Englishmen for the outspoken and sincere Emperor.

Section II.—Influence over Ministers

(*a*) Choice of Ministers.

The Queen has a constitutional right to choose whomsoever she pleases for her Ministers, and to dismiss them when she wishes. In practice, on the fall of a Ministry, she sends for the leader of the other party, or if a dissolution and a new election has taken place, she sends for the leader of the party which has secured a majority in the House of Commons. But as a Minister must find colleagues willing to work with him, it is not always that the statesman first sent for becomes Prime Minister, and it occasionally happens that the deposed party is reinstated in power.

In 1845, for instance, after Sir Robert Peel resigned, the Queen sent for Lord John Russell, but he was unable to form a Ministry, and the Conservative statesman therefore returned to power. Ten years later, after the defeat of the Aberdeen Ministry, Her Majesty first requested Lord Lansdowne to undertake the formation of a Government, and, on his failing to do so, Lord John Russell was summoned, but he being also unsuccessful, the duty ultimately devolved on Lord Palmerston. When Lord Palmerston was defeated in 1858, the Queen sent for Lord Derby, and "when Derby set before her all the difficulties of his situation and entreated

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her again to reflect upon it, a word from her would have induced him (without having anything to complain of) to throw it back into Palmerston's hands. But the word she did speak was decisive as to his going on."[1]

At times, therefore, considerable difficulties lie in the way of the Sovereign, and a great knowledge of men and politics is required in order to ensure the formation of a strong Cabinet composed of men who, while individually strong, are nevertheless willing and able to work together in harmony.

Although the Queen only chooses the Prime Minister, the names of the other Ministers have to be submitted for her approval. There is no authenticated instance of Her Majesty objecting to anyone whom the Prime Minister had chosen to act as one of his colleagues, but in 1892 Mr Labouchere, the proprietor of the celebrated journal *Truth*, caused it to be made public that he ascribed his exclusion from Mr Gladstone's Cabinet to the direct intervention of Her Majesty. The Prime Minister wrote and said that he alone was responsible for the recommendations submitted to Her Majesty, and proceeded, "there are incidents which appeared to me to render it unfit that I should ask your leave to submit your name to Her Majesty for a political office, which would involve your becoming a servant of the Crown."

No doubt, if the Commons wished that any particular man should be in the Cabinet, and the Queen objected, it would cause practical inconvenience, but in the instance quoted there is no evidence whatever either that the Commons wished for Mr

[1] Greville's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 211.

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Labouchere's promotion, or that Mr Gladstone yearned for him as a colleague.

(*b*) Dismissal of Ministers.

Ministers resign when their actions have been condemned by a vote of the House of Commons, or when they think the country ought to have an opportunity of expressing an opinion on their policy. William IV. dismissed the Ministry in 1834, and the only individual Minister who has been dismissed this reign was Lord Palmerston in 1851, when Lord John Russell asked Lord Granville to take the seals of the Foreign Office.

(*c*) Conferences with Ministers.

A Minister is always in attendance on Her Majesty, and rarely a week passes without some of the members of the Cabinet being summoned to wait on the Queen to discuss matters of State, and when an important crisis occurs, every detail is at once laid before Her Majesty. Besides this, when Parliament is sitting, an account is sent by the Prime Minister, or the Leader of the House of Commons, every day of the business which has been transacted. The Prince Consort used to send memoranda on nearly every subject of importance for the consideration of the Cabinet, which proved of the greatest use to the Ministers.

We cannot do better than quote from Greville's "Memoirs" a description by Lord Clarendon of the way in which the Queen fulfils her duties. He said, "that the manner in which the Queen, in her own name, but with the assistance of the Prince, exercised her functions, was exceedingly good, and well became her position, and was eminently useful. She held each Minister to the discharge of his duty, and

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his responsibility to her, and constantly desired to be furnished with accurate and detailed information about all important matters, keeping a record of all the reports that were made to her, and constantly recurring to them,—*e.g.* she would desire to know what the state of the navy was, and what ships were in readiness for active service, and generally the state of each, ordering returns to be submitted to her from all the arsenals and dockyards, and again, weeks or months afterwards, referring to these returns, and desiring to have everything relating to them explained and accounted for, and so throughout every Department." [1]

(*d*) A Constitutional Monarch.

We will not presume to define the position of a Constitutional Monarch of the British Empire during the latter half of the nineteenth century, but the following short extracts exemplify the action taken by the Queen on several momentous occasions. In 1839, after Sir Robert Peel had requested that the Queen should dismiss some of her leading Bedchamber women, she writes that she "cannot consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage, and which is repugnant to her feelings." Two years later the Queen sends Mr Anson to see Sir Robert Peel, who suggests that "on the present occasion, supposing Her Majesty should be under the necessity of requiring my services, I thought it would be much better that Her Majesty should be enabled to inform me that the offices held by the ladies in question (Duchess of Sutherland, Duchess of Bedford, and Lady Normandy), were actually vacant, having been resigned

[1] Greville's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 127.

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by them, than that I would require the resignation of them."[1] The plan since adopted is that the Mistress of the Robes changes with the Ministry, but the Ladies-in-Waiting do not. Before visiting Scotland in 1842, the Queen writes: "If Sir Robert Peel still sees no objection, the Prince and the Queen are very anxious to make this little trip to Scotland."[2]

There is no evidence that the Queen has ever objected to the persons nominated for official appointments by her Ministers, and in 1844 she agreed with Sir Robert Peel's nomination of a successor to Lord Ellenborough in India.

The following letters show more clearly than any other published ones, that although the Queen does not hesitate to state clearly her own opinion, she only advises action if they agree with those held by her Ministers.

Regarding the Maynooth Grant, she writes: "It is not honourable to Protestantism to see the bad, and violent, and bigoted passions displayed at this moment. The importance Lord Heytesbury states the success of the Bill is of in Ireland, shows how fatal its failure would be. Indeed, we cannot think of its failing." April 15th, 1845.[3]

Regarding the repeal of the Corn Laws, the Queen writes on November 28th, 1845:

"The Queen thinks that the time is come when a removal of the restrictions upon the importation of food cannot be successfully restricted. Should this be Sir Robert's own opinion, the Queen very much

[1] "Sir Robert Peel," J. S. Parker, vol. ii. p. 458.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 538.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. iii. 176.

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hopes that none of his colleagues will prevent him from doing what it is right to do."[1]

On January 12th, 1846, after Sir Robert had informed the Queen that he had brought the general plan before his colleagues for the adjustment of the Corn Laws, she replied expressing "great satisfaction, feeling certain that what was so just and wise must succeed,"[2] and with great prescience writes on February 4th, that "she is sure Sir Robert will be rewarded in the end by the gratitude of the country. This will make up for the abuse he has to endure from so many of his party."[3] But the Queen, although she may try and dissuade the Ministers from any action, and persuade them to adopt some other policy, never attempts in any way to thwart the action of the Cabinet, even if she does not agree with it, but when we remember that for over sixty years Her Majesty has been constantly in the very centre of political life, and that the whole of the members of the present Cabinet were either in the nursery or had not been born when she ascended the throne, and when we know that she has no party bias at all, and has the advantage of being able to express an opinion without fear of losing supporters in the House of Commons, we must admit that her advice on political questions possesses an almost ideal value.

Section III.—The Queen and the Public

By the Public we mean, in this connection, all those people who do not take an active interest

[1] "Sir Robert Peel," J. S. Parker, vol. iii. p. 238.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 326. [3] *Ibid.* p. 338.

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in politics, and who know very little constitutional history, law or sociology. Such persons only follow superficially the course of affairs, and as a rule, think that the influence which the Queen exerts on politics is very little. But nevertheless so great is the respectful admiration for the Queen that all classes of the community are interested in her appearance and doings. In order, therefore, to satisfy this appetite, an ever-increasing number of so-called society journals are published, which describe with minute details the place of abode, the journeys, the appearance and speeches of the Queen, and those acts of kindness and courtesy to all classes for which the Royal Family are justly famous. While, therefore, Foreign Monarchs and Ministers at home and abroad, respect and admire the Queen as a constitutional Sovereign, actuated by the highest principles, the people respect and love her as the first and most gracious lady in the country. But there is a fundamental and ingrained idea among all classes, which no amount of socialistic reasoning will ever eradicate, that an hereditary King is superior to any head of a Republic, however elected, and this idea is brought into strong relief when we contrast the social position of an English Monarch with that of the Presidents of the French and American Republics.

In England, one of the ambitions of the members of the aristocratic families is to serve for a time at Court, and the middle classes consider it an honour and distinction to be presented at a drawing-room or a levee, whereas the old aristocratic families in France regard the President merely as the political

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head of the State, and consider themselves far superior in social rank.

Again, all professional men and tradesmen consider it an honour to serve the Royal family or supply them with goods, but here commercial principles also arise, and it is considered a good advertisement, the inference which is aroused being that as the Royal family are presumed to have the best of everything, the possessors of a Royal warrant must supply the best goods.

It thus becomes an object of ambition to possess it, even although in many cases no goods are actually ever supplied. Among all classes of working men the greatest loyalty exists, and wherever the name of the Queen is mentioned at theatres, music halls, public meetings, dinners, or elsewhere, it is always received with the greatest enthusiasm, and the reason for this is that the Queen is regarded not only as the Sovereign, but also as a gracious lady, and a model wife and mother. The fact that the Queen is the first Constitutional Monarch is also universally known, and although it would puzzle 999 in every thousand members of the crowd who cheered the Queen on the Diamond Jubilee day to define the term, yet it conveys to all an idea of a Monarch who abides by and upholds the institutions of the country and occupies a position far above and yet in actual touch with all her subjects in every grade of life. We cannot close this chapter with more fitting words than those spoken by the Prince Consort at the unveiling of a statue to the Queen at Salford in 1857, when he trusted that the inhabitants would find in the contemplation of that statue, "an assurance

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that where loyalty and attachment to the sovereign, as the representative of the institutions of the country, are linked to an ardent love of progress, founded upon self-reliance and self-improvement, a country cannot fail to prosper under favour of the Almighty."

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CHAPTER III

THE CHARACTERS OF MINISTERS

ALTHOUGH the balances and checks in our constitutional machine effectually prevent any individual or body of individuals exerting an undue influence on the government of the country, nevertheless the minds of those who are destined to convert the will of the people into working forces must largely affect the ultimate direction in which those forces proceed and the shape which the resulting actions assume. A study of the characters of the leading statesmen of the century is therefore a matter of the utmost interest and consequence. But here we only propose to deal with those politicians who were interested and worked in the whole field of scientific statescraft—statesmen proper—and not with those who were occupied entirely in endeavouring to pass one great measure. Although for actual results such men as Messrs Cobden, Parnell, O'Connell, and other agitators, are often more instrumental in forcing on a measure than the statesman who eventually introduces it, nevertheless they ought not to be studied as specimens of statesmen.

Nor is it proposed to analyse the characters of politicians as shown by their private lives or their personal peculiarities, which, although of interest, cannot be legitimately included in a work on the Mind of the Nation. It is only intended indeed to show the general trend of their principles as

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evinced by their words on public occasions, and their actions in the capacity of statesmen, and although we must allow for opportunism and pressure from without, yet, in a life time, the accumulation of words and deeds, if carefully examined and judged, gives us a true picture of the actual character of the public man. But since space must be considered, I think that the simplest method will be to describe the nature of their early training and education, and then their chief mental characteristics, as shown by their opinions on the leading questions of their day.

Section I.—Birth and Training

Nearly all great statesmen have been born and trained in an atmosphere of politics. Pitt, the second son of Lord Chatham, was born in 1759, and was educated at home by a private tutor and his father, who trained him especially in oratory. At the early age of fourteen he entered Pembroke College, Cambridge, but passed no examinations, and took his degree as a nobleman's son in 1776.

George Canning was born in 1770, and educated at Eton and Christchurch, Oxford, where he showed some signs of distinction in the Classics. He afterwards entered Lincolns Inn, but speedily gave up the study of the law and devoted himself to politics, and early deciding not to connect himself with the Whig party, he supported Pitt.

Lord Melbourne was descended from a family famed for the political prowess of its members. His mother, although a well-known lady in court and political society, does not appear to have trained

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her son especially for a political career, but the opinions he imbibed when young were largely those of Fox, and the Whig school of the period, with whom he came much into contact. He was educated at Eton, and Trinity, Cambridge, and was a great reader and student of philosophy.

Lord Aberdeen was brought up by his guardians, Pitt and Henry Dundas, and was educated at Harrow and St John's College, where he early showed a great love of the Classics, reading Greek, Latin and Italian, and founding a collection of books, which afterwards grew into a fine library. To complete his education he travelled extensively on the Continent, and visited Italy and Asia Minor.

Sir Robert Peel was the son of a successful cotton spinner, a Member of Parliament who was an ardent supporter of Pitt. He was from an early age trained for a political career, and was a very hard worker at Harrow and Christchurch, where he took a double first.

Lord John Russell was brought up among politicians, and came of an old governing family. He did not distinguish himself as a scholar when young, but took some interest in speculative sciences at Edinburgh under the tuition of Professor Playfair.

Lord Derby was a descendant of a family who were most powerful during the Tudor régime, and was educated at Eton and Christchurch.

Lord Palmerston also came from a historic political stock, and was educated at Harrow, Edinburgh and Cambridge. Although not a great scholar or orator, his speeches were well thought out, and showed considerable method and order, and he was very cynical and quick at repartee.

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Lord Beaconsfield was the only Prime Minister of this reign who was not either born of powerful, influential parents, or trained for a political career. He was educated at a private school, and articled when seventeen years old to a solicitor, but the fascination of literature attracted him very early, and he established a reputation when twenty-two years old with the novel "Vivian Grey."

Mr Gladstone was the son of Sir John Gladstone, a Member of Parliament who supported Canning, and from an early age was taught to debate on many and varied subjects. At Eton he was a member of a debating society, and edited "Miscellany," and at Oxford became the President of the Union, where he defended Catholic Emancipation, and thought that Wellington's Government was unworthy of confidence. After leaving Oxford he travelled in Italy before entering Parliament.

The Marquis of Salisbury is descended from the historic family of Cecils. He was educated at Eton and Christchurch, where he proved himself a skilled debater, pleading against the disestablishment of the Church, and in favour of a Conservative party which would accept Free Trade as an unalterable principle of politics.

We thus must conclude that birth, wealth and influence are important aids to political success, and while remembering that a strong intellect and hard work are also very essential, we must allow that these qualities alone act at a great disadvantage. Even in these democratic days the glitter and power of the aristocracy powerfully fascinates the popular mind, and *ceteris paribus* there can be no doubt people prefer to be governed by one born in a high

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position, rather than by one of themselves. It is this feeling which we hope will prevent the social status of our statesmen falling to the level of American and French professional politicians, for although no thinking person would argue that the possession of a title or wealth for a few generations would to any great degree affect the characters of the descendants, yet the early training of those born in a position of authority causes as a rule a higher, less selfish, and nobler conception of duty to others than is found in those who are destined to struggle for a living from an early age. Further, those who consider the acquisition of wealth more desirable than that of fame, to whatever class they may belong, can never possess that absolute integrity and honesty so essential to a public man.

Section II.—Religious Questions

The religious views of statesmen can only as a rule be inferred from their speeches and votes on the ecclesiastical questions which come before Parliament. It is thus impossible to form any very accurate idea of their opinions on the doctrines of the various churches, but we can nevertheless gauge the general character, often by a very few words, nor do we here wish to enter deeply into theological questions. Pitt may be described as a broad minded churchman who devoted little time to the study of theological questions apart from their political aspect. He was always in favour of Catholic Emancipation and had no fear of papal domination in England.

Canning also did not study theology apart from

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politics, but the following letters throw a good deal of light on his creed. "My argument (good or bad), was that the difference between Transubstantiation and Consubstantiation, whatever it might be in a religious point of view was not such in a political point of view as to make the holders of the former necessarily traitors, while those of the latter were safely admitted to share the full franchise of the State with the members of the Church of England." . . . . Mr C. wishes he could truly add that the doubts which he ventured to express respecting the exclusive doctrine of the Athanasian creed had been removed by Dr Phillpott's defence of the damnatory clauses of that Profession of Faith." [1]

Sir Robert Peel, although tolerant, was strongly opposed to the Roman Catholic doctrine of the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. "My opinion is, and I expressed it I hope without any reserve, that there are certain anomalies in the system which I would wish to remove, but the main principles of it I would retain untouched; and that at no time and under no circumstances so long as the Catholic admits the supremacy in spirituals of a foreign earthly potentate, and will not tell us what supremacy in spirituals means, so long as he will not give us voluntarily that security which every despotic sovereign in Europe has by the concession of the Pope himself, will I consent to admit them." [2] The fact that Peel afterwards supported the Bill for Emancipating the Catholics does not prove that his views changed on this subject, for it is the

[1] "Some correspondence of George Canning," Stapleton, vol. i. p. 363.

[2] Letter to the Duke of Richmond, March 2nd, 1813, from the "Peel Papers," edited by C. S. Parker.

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policy, and indeed the duty of all statesmen to give effect to the voice of the House of Commons when it speaks in tones of absolute command.

Peel threw out the Jews' Relief Bill in 1830, on the ground that the admission of Jews, in principle involved the abandonment of Christianity as part of the constitution. In 1841, during the general election, and when the Tractarian controversy was at its height, he wrote to Lord Ashley: "It is right and fit that men should adhere steadfastly to sincere religious opinions, and should enforce them with all the ability and strength of argument they can command. But it frequently happens that these zealous controversialists on religions matters leave on the mind of their readers one conviction stronger than any other, namely, that Christian charity is consumed in their burning zeal for their own opinions."[1] Peel when Prime Minister was strongly in favour of appointing Roman Catholics to responsible Government appointments in Ireland.

There is no evidence that Lord Melbourne was at all orthodox, either in his doctrine or practical ethics, and he appears to have been indolently tolerant. He opposed Catholic Emancipation, and as a member of the Duke of Wellington's Government, was obliged to vote against the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts introduced by Lord John Russell.

As Prime Minister, he always recommended strictly orthodox Bishops, but he horrified the Church by presenting the Socialist, Robert Owen, to the Queen. His last vote was given in favour of the removal of Jewish disabilities.

[1] "Sir Robert Peel," J. S. Parker, vol. ii. p. 475.

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Lord John Russell, who may be described as a broad-minded philosophic Protestant, supported the Nonconformist pretentions, wished to abolish the Test and Corporation Acts, and voted for the Maynooth Grant.

He was not in the least affected by the High Church outcry against his appointment of the broad churchman, Dr Hampden, as Bishop of Hereford, and regarded without dismay the splitting of the Church into several parties. His letter to the Bishop of Durham concerning the action of the Pope in dividing England into Sees governed by bishops with territorital titles, must be read literally from a political and not from a theological standpoint, for he condemned the assumption of the Pope as "a pretension of supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation, as asserted even in the Roman Catholic times." He was opposed to sectarian teaching in schools.

Lord Derby was strongly opposed to the spirit which supported the Holy Alliance and all kinds of despotism based on superstition. He vigorously supported emancipation of the Catholics and education with undenominational theology, and denounced the one-sided evangelicalism of Lord Palmerston's Church appointments. He was opposed to the disestablishment of the Irish Church, but although neither a deep thinker nor a philosopher, he was an excellent practical statesman, and "could conceive nothing more dangerous, nothing more detrimental, to the interests of the Church of Eng-

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land, than the preponderance of the Tractarian party."

Lord Aberdeen was essentially a philosopher, with a great but unpractical mind, prone to dreaming and imagining that what he wished would happen must do so. Both from a political and a theological standpoint, he was strictly impartial, and both supported the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and opposed Lord John Russell's Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, refusing to join his Government because of that Bill. He had no sympathy for the Turks, but, although in favour of peace, thought the advance of Russia to Constantinople ought to be resisted.

Lord Palmerston was neither a philosopher nor a theologian, and was either indolently indifferent to religious questions or regarded them merely as they affected practical politics. He was in favour of Catholic Emancipation, and only joined the Duke of Wellington's Cabinet on the condition that each member should be free to propound the question according to his own discretion. He sneered at the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. "The thing itself, in truth, is little or nothing, and does not justify the irritation. What has goaded the nation is the manner, insolent and ostentatious, in which it has been done."[1] If anything, he was rather inclined towards the Evangelical school.

Lord Beaconsfield was a strong supporter of the Established Church, and opposed the Maynooth Grant, but he was never a theologian in any sense of the word. In his novels he states that Young England wished for the emancipation of the Church from Parliamentary control, and that "the Whigs

[1] Letter to his brother: from Ashley's "Palmerston."

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introduced sectarian religion, sectarian religion led to political exclusion, and that was soon accomplished by commercial restraint."[1] He anticipated the conversion of the Jews, and said: "It is impossible that any descendants of the Jews of Palestine exist who disbelieve in Christ," and argued that Christ made the history of the Jews the most famous in the world. "Has not He hung up their laws in every temple? What successes did they anticipate from their Messiah? The wildest dreams of their Rabbis have been far exceeded." The principles he supported were that the Church must educate the people, increase the Episcopate, maintain her parochial constitution, and invite the co-operation of the laity in Church government.

Mr Gladstone has left us a large library of works on theology, but it is impossible here to do more than briefly mention some of the views expressed in them.

At Oxford he argued against Nonconformists being admitted, because the system of University and Colleges aimed at the formation of a moral character, and this could not be attained if every student were at liberty to exclude himself from the religious training of the place.

In "The State in its Relations with the Church," he argued that the State ought to be responsible for the inculcation of a particular religion, because responsible Ministers are in a better position to judge what is good for the people than they are themselves. In 1840 he vindicated the Church of England as the divinely-appointed guardian of Christian truth, alike against Popish and Puritan

[1] "Coningsby."

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innovations. He thought that "the culmination and perfection of the Christian morality was found in that high and severe doctrine of marriage."[1]

Being strongly opposed to the Romish Church, he said that "no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another," and wrote strongly against the Vatican Decrees as affecting the Civil Allegiance.

But we must endeavour here to confine ourselves to the expression of Mr Gladstone's opinions on the practical political side of religious questions. He retired from the Ministry over the grant to the Roman Catholic Maynooth College, but, nevertheless, supported the Bill. Concerning the Gorham judgment, he wrote to the Bishop of London objecting to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as an ultimate court of appeal in Ecclesiastical cases, because it was an injurious and even dangerous departure from the Reformation settlements, and thought that the bishops were the most natural organs of judicial office in questions of heresy, and the fittest and safest counsellors of the Crown. He denounced the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and strongly opposed the Divorce Bill, and remarriage of divorced persons. He was opposed to individualism, and said that "want of combined and responsible ecclesiastical action is one of the main evils, and that the regular duty of such action will tend to check the spirit of individualism and to restore that belief in a Church which we have almost lost." He disestablished the Irish Church, and argued that tithes are national property, and

[1] "Gleanings of Past Years," vol. iii. p. 155.

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ought to be dealt with by the State, but the Church of England is national, because the majority of the people are members of it. He supported undenominational education, and repealed the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, which had, indeed, never been enforced. The proposal to omit the Athanasian Creed from the Prayer Book was opposed by him on the ground that it was only a preliminary attack on the whole book—but he argued for a reasonable elasticity in the interpretation of doctrine and ritual.

Lord Salisbury when at Oxford condemned the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII., and pleaded against the disestablishment of the Church; he was a supporter of sectarian teaching in the Board Schools in 1870, and opposed the disestablishment of the Irish Church, because he thought that it would not appease the Irish or stop Fenianism. He is tolerant towards all creeds, and in favour of elasticity in the practice of the Church. "There are three schools in the Church, which I might designate by other names, but which I prefer to call the Sacramental, the Emotional and the Philosophical. They are schools which, more or less, except when they have been crushed by the strong hand of power, have been found in the Church in every age. They arise not from any difference in the Church itself, but because the truth must necessarily assume different tints as it is reported through the different media of different minds. But it is upon the frank and loyal tolerance of these schools that the existence of your Establishment depends."[1]

His chief argument for Established Churches is

[1] "The Marquis of Salisbury," by James J. Ellis, p. 77.

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that, being under the control of the State, they are less liable than others to ecclesiastical domination in secular affairs.

These very brief notes prove to us that, as a rule, statesmen do not allow their religious opinions to govern their policy, however earnestly they may feel on the subject. Generally they are more tolerant than people with less widely developed minds, although their tolerance may be accompanied by the most jealous care of the Established Church. With the single exception of Mr Gladstone none of the leading Ministers could be called deep students of theology, but many had a fondness for the study of philosophy. The general tendency at the present time is to avoid carefully all questions affecting the doctrine or ritual of the Established religion, and to confine ecclesiastical legislation to the judicial and financial matters of the Church. The accusation of playing for the Roman or Nonconformist vote is easily hurled at Ministers, but to ascribe motives to anyone without very clear evidence is neither philosophical nor fair. But the Church question will be dealt with more fully later when the popular forces which so largely influence the actions of Ministers will be described.

Section III.—The Practical Political Economy of Statesmen

The conclusions of political economists have never greatly influenced the actions of practical statesmen for the very good reasons (1) that they are essentially mathematical, and thus impossible to apply except in an Utopia of automata, (2) that the con-

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clusions vary from year to year, and (3) that no large body of men accept any of them except those which are so obvious that everyone acts upon them naturally, and without any acquaintance with the science of economy. In this respect political economy approaches philosophy and theology, and it is not the duty of statesmen to study abstract theories on any of these subjects, but rather to apply practically those doctrines which ensure practical justice and which work with the least friction.

Here then we shall only give a few of the expressed ideas of statesmen on the subject, and their practical financial measures.

A general outline of the fiscal policy of the eighteenth century will be given later, and suffice it to say here that Pitt was in favour of equal commercial opportunities for Ireland, and was opposed to restrictions on the imports. Although generally a sound economist he approved of the foolish policy of giving parochial relief in proportion to the number of children in a family.

Lord Melbourne was not fully acquainted with the subject of economy, and regarded the repeal of the Corn Laws as a "d——d dishonest Act," but he approved of the imposition of the Income Tax.

Sir Robert Peel in 1819 declared himself the champion of "the old, the vulgar doctrine, as some people have called it, that the true standard of value consisted in a definite quantity of gold bullion." In 1826 during the crisis, the Government, with Peel at the Home Office, urged the Bank to advance notes on the security of deposits of goods instead of on issue of Exchange bills.

In 1842 he proposed the reimposition of the

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Income Tax for three years, and reduced the duties on 750 articles out of 1200 in the Tariff, and three years later removed from the Tariff 450 items of imports, chiefly raw materials, and all the export duties. In 1844 his Government passed the Bank Act, regulating the issuing of notes against a gold reserve which is still the system on which our currency is worked.

Although he wrote as early as 1842 that the total repeal of the Corn Laws must come after two or three years, yet his characteristic care not to legislate until the country had thoroughly made up its mind, caused him to wait, and it was not until after five years' active agitation by the Free Traders, and the conversion of Lord John Russell, that he repealed the Corn Laws and laid the foundation of the modern British system of Free Trade.

Lord John Russell was an advocate of retrenchment, and in 1816 argued against the Income Tax and the army estimates. He was always in favour of reducing the duty on wheat, but it was not until 1845 that he advocated free importation, and when he succeeded Peel as Prime Minister, passed a bill making the abolition of duty total and immediate. Lord Derby objected to the repeal of the Corn Laws and retired from the Cabinet, but after the failure to form another Ministry adopted the principles of Sir Robert Peel. He was never, however, actuated by any fixed principles of political economy.

We may conclude the subject of the opinions of leading statesmen on the question of Free Trade at this date by saying that Lords Aberdeen and Palmerston and Messrs Gladstone and Graham

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supported Sir Robert Peel, while Lord George Bentinck and Mr Disraeli opposed him. At the present time it would be difficult to find any responsible statesman to advocate protection, although many wish for a commercial union of the mother country and the Colonies. Mr Gladstone suggested the revival of the House Tax instead of the Income Tax, which was proposed by Sir Robert Peel in 1841. Eleven years later he attacked the Budget of Disraeli, and defeated Lord Derby's Government, and brought in his own Budget, which was a masterpiece of financial statesmanship, its chief proposals being abolition of the Income Tax, reduction of the interest on the National Debt, reduction in the Tariff and Excise, and imposition of Death Duties. All these plans, however, were upset by the expenditure on the Crimean War. In 1860 he further reduced the articles in the Tariff to 48, and in 1873 instituted the Sinking Fund.

The chief financial act of Lord Beaconsfield was the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, which has both proved a profitable investment and a sound political action.

The Budgets of recent years show no startling innovations. The Income Tax is now permanent, the duties on tobacco, spirits, wine and fermented liquors remain fairly constant; the Death Duties have been raised, and the receipts from excise and stamps steadily increase with the population. The general tendency is undoubtedly to raise the direct taxes and lower the indirect, thus causing the wealthy to contribute more in proportion to their incomes than the poorer classes, Many statisticians have arrived at a directly opposite

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opinion, but the subject is too lengthy to discuss here. Interference with free contract between landlord and tenant is chronic in Ireland, and manufacturers and artisans are both legislated for by the Government, and ruled by the arbitrary laws of the Trade Unions. Since the conclusions of political economists have, therefore, never had a chance of either being proved or disproved, we cannot be surprised that Lord Salisbury has little respect for their theories. Nevertheless, many of the suggestions and prophesies of even the most Utopian of economists undoubtedly show signs of being fulfilled.

The possibility of continually reducing the interest on the National Debt argues that the prophesy that unworked capital will receive less and less interest is being fulfilled, and the advances of money to Irish tenants to purchase the land, although based on the ordinary principle of borrowing on good security, is a new departure from the old relationship of landlord and tenant, while the desire of Municipalities and County Councils to acquire and work their own gas, water, electric light and tramways, proves the general tendency towards substituting popular control for unrestrained private competition.

The latest question of interest in this subject is that of Bi-metalism, and the opinions of the leading statesmen vary considerably, although inclining against its practical application at present. Probably the arguments for and against it are as likely to prove as true in practice as have the Ricardian theory of rent, the Malthusian theory of population, or the theory of John Stuart Mill on wages. Nevertheless, whatever may be said against the possibility of raising

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political economy to the level of an exact science, there is no doubt that the fundamental principles of its founder, Adam Smith, remain as true to-day as when they were formulated.

But practical statesmanship can only be learnt by experience, which often proves the *à priori* reasoning of theorists to be false; but, nevertheless, it is the duty of everyone to become well acquainted with the theories of a subject before attempting to apply them in practice.

Section IV.—General Characteristics

Pitt properly belongs to the last century, and the story of his life has been so excellently told by Lord Stanhope, Lord Rosebery and Lord Ashbourne, and the policy of the period by Mr Lecky, that it would be superfluous to do more than call attention to those main principles which he inculcated into the Tory party, and which to a great extent governed its policy for the first quarter of the present century. He was strongly in favour of liberty tempered with justice, and spoke of the American War as "accursed, wicked, barbarous, cruel, unnatural, unjust and diabolical."[1] Nevertheless, after the French Revolution he was forced to adopt the most severe repressive Acts by the clamour of the nation. "The public in its terror called for more and more; Parliament passed every repressive measure with something like acclamation; it was not the coercion of a people by the Government, it was the coercion of the Government by the people."[2]

[1] "Life of Pitt," Stanhope, vol. i. p. 61.
[2] "Life of Pitt," Lord Rosebery.

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He was opposed to undue concessions of power to the people, and was an ardent supporter of the Royal Prerogative, but nevertheless insisted that it was the right and duty of Parliament to prevent the Prince of Wales assuming full regal powers if he succeeded to the Regency. He was strongly adverse to the Napoleonic War, and repeatedly tried to negotiate peace, and in 1797 was prepared to make very great concessions; but we must remember that at this time every ally except Portugal had forsaken England, that Austria had acquiesced in the inclusion in the French Republic of Belgium and Savoy, that Venice had passed to Austria, and the Greek Islands to France, and that at home the Bank had stopped payment, Ireland was in a state of anarchy, and there was a mutiny in the fleet. A few years later, however, he refused to accept Napoleon's overtures saying, "as a sincere lover of peace, I will not sacrifice it by grasping at the shadow, when the reality is not in truth within my reach."[1]

There is little doubt that Pitt was very anxious to bring about union with Ireland, and to remove the Catholic disabilities, but his position was most difficult both with the King and Parliament. On the one hand a semi-insane Monarch with a dogged and obstinate mind, who was fearful lest he should lose his prestige and power by renouncing his Coronation Oath, and on the other a powerful Opposition in the Commons ever ready to make capital out of any military reverses on the Continent.

The whole story is indeed one of the most pathetic interest; a man of broad humane principles

[1] "Life of Pitt," Stanhope, vol. iii. p. 212.

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and a lover of peace, he was destined to be drawn into a bloody and pitiless war; a strict economist with a cherished scheme for establishing the national finances on a sound bottom, he was fated to contract an enormous national debt; a broad and tolerant thinker, he was compelled by the King to relinquish his scheme for relieving the Catholics; a man of no extravagant personal tastes, and with a large income from his offices, he was destined to die bankrupt; and with a nature which seemed to crave for love and sympathy, he was compelled to stand alone surrounded by an impenetrable ring of haughty reserve.

George Canning may be regarded as the father of the modern Liberals, although nominally he remained a Liberal-Tory until his death. He was not in favour of despotic monarchies, nor on the other hand did he favour government by the uneducated. Of a strong emotional nature, restrained by a powerful will, he was continually curbing his impulses, which threatened to carry him too far, by his sound, practical common sense. He deliberately followed Pitt because he recognised that as a Tory he would have more opportunity of applying his principles than as a Whig, but nevertheless was always far in advance of the rest of his party. Although at first sympathising with France in her endeavours to gain constitutional freedom, when her rulers attempted to overrun the Continent, he dreaded and despised them. With a strong inclination to support the efforts of colonies and nations to assert their independence, he was no Republican, and thoroughly understood the advantages of a limited monarchy. In foreign policy he upheld that it was the duty

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of England to enforce justice and to protect the weak from the strong, but was nevertheless opposed to one nation forcing upon another any particular system of government. Clearly understanding that protection leads to paralysis, he was in favour of reducing the import duties. Being of a broadly tolerant nature he supported the Catholics in their efforts to obtain their rights. Although not actuated by particularly lofty domestic ethical ideals, he recognised the injustice of an immoral monarch divorcing his wife for the simple purpose of begetting an heir to the throne. His speeches were profound, and always founded on first principles which he endeavoured to apply to the events of the day. With some weaknesses, Canning was a man with a strong, fearless and independent nature.

Lord Melbourne, although naturally of a somewhat indolent character and inclined to the policy of "leaving well alone," nevertheless could at times rise to the occasion and show a very firm hand. He was essentially honest and straightforward, objected strongly to employing political informers, and was an advocate of freedom as far as it was consistent with safety, but would never be coerced by a show of force. Although he realised in 1832 that the time for reform had arrived, he was in favour of aristocratic government, and wishing to extend the power of the Prime Minister he only accepted this office in 1835 on the condition that he should have some control over the Royal household, and the power to create peers, and that the principle of exclusion from the Cabinet on the score of creed or politics should be repudiated.

Sir Robert Peel was an extremely active and

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thorough statesman. When only twenty-four years of age he showed the greatest talents as an administrator in Ireland, and was a kind but strict master, and severely censured all slovenly and careless work. He was strongly opposed to all bribery and purchasing of votes. Although he never instituted legislation until the mandate of the country was given in clear and certain terms yet he never delayed it later than the psychological moment. Equally opposed to the unrestrained action of monarch and people, he was ready both to check the Royal prerogative of pardoning capital offences when opposed to the wishes of the Cabinet, and to bring in coercion measures when necessary. He did not object to a paid Press, but would not permit his own organs to attack the personal character of his opponents. Nevertheless, when the *Sunday Times*, on February 9th, 1823, insinuated that the King was mad, and he wished to check the liberty of the Press, Peel refused to consider the question in the Cabinet. As an advocate of economy he opposed the increased allowances to the Royal Dukes and excessive military expenditure. Being essentially humane he approved of the shortening of the hours of labour in factories, but democratic government found no favour with him, and he bitterly opposed the Reform Bill of 1832, but accepted readily any measure which he thought was conducive to the good of the people as a whole. He had a fine voice and delivery, and impressed his hearers by his natural and easy modulation in tone to suit his subjects.

Lord John Russell was essentially a democratic Minister, and was chiefly occupied in devising schemes for reform at home, and for self-govern-

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ment in the colonies. The same principle can be traced in his acceptance of Austria's proposal that Russia should maintain a naval force in the Black Sea, and in his opposition to the attempt of the Emperors to partition Italy after the peace of Villafranca, for he argued that the system of foreign interference had for upwards of forty years been the misfortune of Italy and was dangerous to Europe. On the other hand he was at first opposed to Home Rule for Ireland, although his views afterwards became modified. Although opposed to Coercion in Ireland, he nevertheless passed a Crimes Act when the lawlessness and outrages could not otherwise be stemmed. He was very much in earnest and had strong convictions.

Lord Derby may be regarded as one of the chief founders of the modern Tory-Democratic school, and he both supported reform vigorously, and was in favour of Catholic Emancipation and increased education. Although he was attracted into Peel's camp, he at first opposed the repeal of the Corn Laws. The increasing growth and power of the political Press appears to have escaped his notice, but he never opposed, although he often misunderstood, the voice of the public. As a leader he was very slow in discovering political recruits, and in the latter part of his life did not take a very enthusiastic interest in politics, and although a magnificent orator with a high capacity for statesmanship he did not seem thoroughly to grasp the importance of many of the new principles with which he was brought into contact.

Lord Aberdeen was a conciliatory statesman, and existing on a high intellectual level failed to under-

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stand the petty passions and self-interests which actuate the common place individual. Prejudices arising from creed, class and party were almost entirely absent, and, as in the case of many great minds, he was astonished that his actions, which to him appeared noble and honourable, were regarded as weak and vacillating by individuals with less developed minds which rapidly became fixed on one point, and then deluded their owners into the belief that consistency under all circumstances meant strength.

In his negotiations in 1813 and subsequent years, he showed the greatest capability for reconciling the most adverse claims, and, while satisfying all that they had been fairly treated, usually gained his own ends by dispassionate firmness. The complete independence of Spain, Holland, and Italy, and the restoration of the old cantonal governments of Switzerland were largely due to the success of the negotiations he conducted, and he justly earned the approval of the Regent, Castlereagh, and the Cabinet. Being in favour of the independence of nations, he helped to liberate Greece, but objected on principle to foreign interference in the domestic affairs of nations in all cases except against a common European enemy, and on this principle he advised the recognition of Louis Philippe at once. Of a cautious nature he was afraid of the sweeping measures of the Reform Bill of 1832 and voted against it, but thought that the Lords should only on especial occasions interfere with bills sent up by the Commons. He successfully acted as a peaceful mediator between France and England in 1844, and between the United States and Eng-

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land in the following year. He thought with Guizot that the old maxim "Si vis pacem, para bellum" was entirely inapplicable to the condition of Great Powers, and to the political system of modern times, but nevertheless, however unphilosophical and absurd the maxim is, it has unfortunately been rigorously acted upon for the last fifty years.

The publication of the famous Neapolitan letters of Mr Gladstone, he rightly foresaw would only put difficulties in the way of obtaining redress. He resisted the clamour for the Crimean War as long as possible, but recognised when it was futile longer to maintain peace, and always understood the necessity of resisting the advance of Russia to Constantinople.

Lord Palmerston was the very reverse of the statesman just described. Neither, in its highest sense, intellectual or philosophical, he felt all the passions and appreciated all the motives of those he was destined to govern, and was essentially a strong, determined, independent man of common sense, just such an one who appeals to a nation of practical workers, who appreciate strength more than wisdom, and deeds more than thoughts. Although a hesitating and bad speaker, he was cynical and quick at repartee. Being a good practical administrator, he speedily reformed some of the abuses at the War Office, and removed the anomalies from the functions of the Secretary of War. But his independent spirit and indomitable will caused him to be rather distasteful to George IV., who offered him the post of Governor-General of India, which he refused. Opposed to both class and sect legislation, he did not long remain a member of the Duke of Welling-

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ton's Government, and supported the Reform Bill and Catholic Emancipation.

Although in favour of national independence, he was actuated by an exaggerated idea that it was the duty of England to interfere with the affairs of other nations, and first supported Holland against France, and then formed an alliance with the latter Power to defend constitutional government in Spain and Portugal and to oppose Don Carlos. Next, in order to defeat the pretensions of France in Egypt and Syria, he negotiated successfully a treaty with Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Lord Palmerston, indeed, for thirty years was engaged in moving the national pieces over the chessboard of Europe, supporting first one and then another by his astute combinations for offence and defence; but although generally successful, his foreign policy received a rebuff from Spain, and caused sharp criticism in the House of Commons.

Independent of the Crown, Cabinet, and Commons, he received Kossuth and congratulated Napoleon III. on his *coup d'état*, but this latter action brought upon him the sharpest reproof from his Sovereign that any Minister of modern times has received (see p. 5). Although he fully sympathised with the attempts to raise the working classes, he objected to reform in the sixties on the ground that they would be susceptible to bribery and corruption.

He objected to Russia maintaining a fleet in the Black Sea equal to that which she had before the Crimean War, and was in favour of demanding territory from her. The Manchester peace party he treated with open contempt, and when Cobden had carried a vote of censure after the affair of the

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Arrow in China, he appealed to the patriotism of the country, and heavily scored at the general election. He always urged on the defence of the south coast vigorously, as he did not trust the French. He was more feared than loved, and more admired than respected.

Lord Beaconsfield was in many respects the most extraordinary character of modern times. His chief motive force was ambition combined with an indomitable will and a dogged perseverance, and he was more clever than intellectual, and more of an opportunist than actuated by fixed principles. It is doubtful if Disraeli was ever a Radical, as we understand the term now, and although he was at one time in favour of the ballot and triennial parliaments, and displayed some very democratic ideas, his sympathies rapidly developed in favour of the aristocracy and landed interest. Clearly foreseeing the inevitable trend of the modern spirit, he endeavoured to combine Toryism with Democracy, but was not in favour of affording undue power to the people. "The people have their passions, and it is even the duty of the public men occasionally to adopt sentiments with which they do not sympathise, because the people must have leaders."

Being always an active upholder of the Royal prerogative, he disagreed with Sir Robert Peel when he insisted on the dismissal of the bedchamber women, and opposed Sir Charles Dilke on his motion to enquire into the expenditure of the Royal household. But his greatest feat was to create the Queen Empress of India, and he must be accorded the distinction of being the only Minister who has ever extended even the titular

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prerogative of the Crown since the Revolution. Although sympathising with the Chartists, he did not agree with their methods, and distrusted the middle classes as a foundation for a system of government. He was at first an ardent Protectionist, and his Budget was a failure. Although opposed to Home Rule for Ireland, he clearly understood the causes of discontent, and summed up the question in the following pregnant words: "An absentee aristocracy, an alien Church, and a starving population—that is the Irish question." He objected to the preponderance of the industrial over the landed interests, on the ground that we have a "territorial constitution." His home legislation was of a very useful and necessary kind, and Factory, Conspiracy and Protection to Property, Artizans' Dwellings, Public Health, Mercantile Shipping, and Poor Law Acts followed each other in rapid succession when he was Prime Minister. Abroad his policy was based on the principle that it was useless to endeavour to force reforms on Turkey, and he was opposed to treaty engagements to use armed intervention, but he was prepared to use extreme measures if any party to a treaty violated it and did not hesitate to make a demonstration with the reserves and the Indian army. His credit after the Berlin Congress was to a certain extent damaged by the publication of the secret arrangement previously entered into with Russia and the secret treaty with Turkey, but Lord Beaconsfield will always be remembered as a statesman who dazzled court and country with his brilliance, and enforced the attention and admiration of all by his resistless will and determination.

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Mr Gladstone will always be remembered as a man actuated by high, if unpractical, ideals, and as an earnest theologian. Sincere and earnest there can be little doubt that he always, with one exception, acted honestly on his convictions, and endeavoured to instil the highest principles into the practice of politics. In 1831 he was opposed to reform, and thought it was his duty to watch and resist the growing desire for change. He supported the Coercion Bills for Ireland, although he did not speak on them, and defended slavery on the grounds that it was sanctioned by Holy Scripture, but he agreed, nevertheless, that slaves must be ultimately emancipated. Gradually developing, he embraced Peelism and Free Trade, and showed increasing faith in democratic institutions, and less narrow theological prejudices, vindicating at this time the admission of Jews into Parliament. Governed by humanitarian instincts, he often took steps which were by no means patriotic or politic, and if in the debates on the Don Pacifico question no great harm was done, that cannot be said regarding the publication of his letters from Naples, and his later utterances on the Eastern outrages would have been more appropriate if they had emanated from a neurotic schoolgirl than from a practical statesman. He had a strong, self-willed, determined nature, and not only failed to understand that when he was convinced others should not be so also, but often became very angry when people disagreed with him. Nevertheless, he was always ready to admit he was in the wrong when events proved him to have been so, as in the case of the American Civil

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War, after he had rashly said that Jefferson Davis had founded a new nation in the South. When the Lords threw out the bill for the abolition of the Paper Duty, he incorporated it next year in the Budget, which they were compelled to pass, and when they refused to pass the bill abolishing Purchase in the Army, he used the Royal prerogative and effected the reform without an Act of Parliament.

As he grew in years, he became more and more Radical in his reforms, and more inclined to extreme democratic legislation, and after Lord John Russell's Reform Bill was defeated in 1866, and Lord Derby was called to power, he criticised and amended, but supported, Disraeli's scheme in the following year. But although in the following six years many of his measures inspired the timid with fear, and the Conservatives with serious misgivings, none of them, in the light of the present day, would be considered Radical, and the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, the Irish Land Bill, and National Education have all since been approved by both parties. His extreme love of peace was manifested throughout all his actions, and although thinking the reward of the Geneva Board on the Alabama question "harsh in its extent and unjust in its basis," he regarded the fine imposed on this country as "dust in the balance compared with the moral value of the example set."

The bombardment of Alexandria was very distasteful to him, and Mr Bright resigned from his Cabinet. Although the world was accustomed to rapid changes of front on the part of Mr Gladstone, it is doubtful if anyone could have believed

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he would be so rapidly converted to the Home Rule doctrine. In the case of most statesmen this conversion would have been described as the effect of mere office-seeking, but here we will merely narrate the facts and allow the reader to form his own conclusion.

In 1885, when the new Parliament was elected, it was discovered that if the Nationalist members joined the Conservatives there would be no working majority for the Liberals. An anonymous paragraph then appeared in the Press stating that if Mr Gladstone were returned to power, he was prepared to bring in a Liberal measure of Home Rule, and he brought in his Bill early in the next year, but Lord Hartington at once declared against his policy, and Messrs Chamberlain and Goschen seceded from his party, and the Bill was lost. In 1892 he brought in a new Bill, allowing some of the Irish members to remain at Westminster, which passed the Commons but was thrown out by the Lords. Two years later, after a last fiery speech against the Upper Chamber, he resigned, and retired from public life.

Probably Mr Gladstone influenced and controlled those with whom he came in contact more by his personal strength of will than any other statesman of his time, and both fascinated and overawed by his tremendous oratorial powers, but he can be considered neither as a profound nor an original thinker, and he was an extremely unpractical statesman in foreign affairs.

The Marquis of Salisbury is strongly opposed to hasty experimental legislation at home, and is firm in upholding the national prestige and honour abroad. In his early speeches he showed a mar-

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vellous power in the use of telling, cutting cynicism which, although modified by time, has never left him. Although a staunch upholder of the Monarchy, he is opposed to abuse of the Royal power, and when Mr Gladstone abolished the purchase system in the army, he moved a vote of censure on him in the House of Lords, saying, "You are called upon to defend the independence of Parliament against the misuse by an imperious Minister of the Prerogative of the Crown." He is strongly against any attempt to curtail the powers of the House of Lords, but said that "on those rare and great occasions on which the national mind has fully declared itself, I do not doubt your Lordships would yield to the opinion of the country."

In 1867 he opposed the Reform Bill on the ground that the possession of the franchise would tempt the working man to sell his vote, and the legislator to win it by passing class measures, and in 1884 he only agreed to accept the Franchise Bill if it were accompanied by a Redistribution of Seats Bill. On the Eastern Question he has always maintained that however much we may desire reforms in Turkey, we are not justified in attempting to coerce that State at the risk of a general European war. In 1878 he strongly objected to the creation of a strong Slavonic State (Bulgaria) under Russian control, and concluded a secret treaty with Schouvaloff, which reduced the area of Bulgaria, and gave Batoum, Kars, and Bessarabia to Russia. Although not approving of Parnell's Compensation to Tenants Bill, which was thrown out by the House of Lords, he was in favour of peasant proprietorships for Ireland. On

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the question of Home Rule we may state that the main arguments of Lord Salisbury against it are (1) that it would not be just to give fiscal powers to an Irish Parliament when the United Kingdom is wedded to the Free Trade policy; (2) that it would upset the established doctrine of taxation with representation if four millions a year were levied in Ireland without Members at Westminster; (3) that Ireland is not strong enough to keep peace between her rival sects and parties. That Lord Salisbury is not opposed to liberal measures of Local Government on principle is proved by the fact that his Governments have passed the Act of 1888, establishing County Councils for England, the Local Government Act of 1898 for Ireland, and the London Government Act of 1899.

But although Lord Salisbury's domestic reforms have been far reaching in their effects, it is his foreign policy which will stand out clearly and prominently as the chief event of the century. His firmness in Africa, his patient resistance to American and French pretensions, his steadfast Egyptian policy, his calm and dignified treatment of Turkey and Crete, and his cautious but certain action in China must be considered by all to form a fitting crown to the work of his illustrious predecessors at the foreign office. But his work is not yet done and events are too near to form an unimpassioned judgment of one of the soundest and strongest characters of the age.

Section V.—Reflections

A study of the characters of eminent statesmen is naturally followed by the consideration what are

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the most useful and necessary mental qualities to ensure success for the individual himself and advantage to the nation. We have studied a number of minds whose owners have attained a position of the greatest power possible for a subject, and have noticed how widely diverse they have been, but, on a closer inspection, certain qualities were common to all. Of these perhaps the chief are, an inner consciousness of strength and a reliance on self, a power to grasp the pros and cons of any subject rapidly, and a great knowledge of the needs and wishes of men.

It is almost unnecessary to say that the statesman must not fear to change his policy if necessity requires, and must be entirely above any desire to win the temporary approbation of the crowd at the expense of future good; but although he must not resist the clearly expressed mandate of the country, he must strongly oppose any action which is dictated by a momentary wave of passion in the country, and must estimate at its true value popular opinion.

The statesman cannot be a genius in the sense we understand in relation to art or science, because his duty lies in co-ordinating and co-relating the work of all the individuals engaged in specialities, and he is bound therefore to be conversant with a multitude of subjects, and should never allow his mind to dwell too much on one, and so develop in a groove.

He labours, moreover, always in public, and is subject to criticism the whole time, and although in criticisms of music, painting, literature, engineering, building, or any other subject, people only judge

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by the result when finished, and as a rule the critics who lead the public are more or less conversant with the subject on which they speak, in politics everyone, however ignorant, criticises every stage of every negotiation of which he hears, and forgets that his knowledge of the facts is often very imperfect, and his ability to judge them even more so.

Every individual frequently in his bargains begins with demands which he knows well will not be conceded, while the other party to the transaction offers less than he expects will be accepted and eventually the two arrive at some compromise, and both are contented. But if a statesman follows the same policy, he is accused of weakness, or even of compromising the prestige of the nation.

Undoubtedly, however, the government of the nation affects every member of it directly or indirectly, and every member thus has a right to raise his voice when he likes, but it is nevertheless his duty to learn first the fundamental principles of the science, and then to acquaint himself with the facts upon which he wishes to debate.

But although a statesman is bound to act upon the mandate of the country whatever his own opinions, yet it is his duty not to act until there can be no doubt whatever that the majority in the country is in favour of the measure, and even then he must take great care that no injustice is done to the minority.

He should sink his own creed, class and party as far as is consistent with the practice of politics, and think only that he represents every creed, class and party as a trustee of the national honour, prestige and prosperity. His chief function is to

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direct the various motive forces into the right channels of the constitutional machine, and to watch that all its parts are working smoothly together, to apply the brake here and the oil there, and finally to ensure that the resulting products of its action are as similar to the time honoured patterns as modern necessities will allow. It is not his function to rebuild the machine, still less to endeavour to substitute some new fangled invention of theorists, fashioned with highly polished but inferior metal, which would perhaps produce showy results for a week and then burst, in the place of the grand old engine whose foundations were laid in prehistoric times and whose last bolt is not yet driven home.

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CHAPTER IV

POLITICIANS

Section I.—The House of Lords

Most of the members are necessarily hereditary peers, but the few active politicians in the Upper House are men who have either achieved distinction in the Commons before they succeeded to their peerage, or have been created peers for their services in the political or legal world.

The highest ranks in the peerage, Dukedoms, Marquisates and Earldoms, are not as a rule conferred on commoners, but on those who already possess a lower hereditary title in the English, Scotch or Irish peerage. The most usual cause for advancement to these ranks is distinguished service either as a Minister at home, as an Ambassador, or in the Household.

The following table shows at a glance the number of Viscounts and Barons of the United Kingdom created during this reign, and the professions in which they distinguished themselves. Only those peerages which are still in existence have been enumerated.

Profession or Services	Numbers
Advanced from a lower rank without distinguished service,	49
Members of the Household,	5
Ministers, Speakers of the House of Commons, and general Political Service,	75

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	Numbers
Diplomatists, Governors, Members of Civil Service,	19
Legal Profession, Judges and Barristers,	23
Military Men,	13
Naval Men,	3
Scientific,	4
Literary and Artistic,	2
Commercial,	14
TOTAL,	207[1]

It will be seen at once that by far the greatest number are men who have distinguished themselves either in the political or the legal world, and that the honour of a peerage is very rarely granted for any work which does not directly benefit the State. It is true a few commercial men are created whose services to their country are not at once apparent, but in most cases they have performed some good philanthropic work. Besides the number of men who are created peers with hereditary titles for distinguished work, the bishops and the legal life peers are also men whose attainments prove them to be far above the average in intellect, and considering that the remaining members of the peerage are men who, if not necessarily of particular natural intellectual powers, have received the best education possible, we must admit that, as an Assembly, the House of Lords is the most intelligent in the country. On important questions the debates are conducted by men of vast experience in politics, who have had exceptional opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the facts and thus carry the greatest weight. One instance will suffice, namely, the debate on the Home Rule Bill, which took place on

[1] This table has been compiled from descriptions in Debrett and in various Histories and Biographies.

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September the 5th and three following days, 1893. The speakers were: Lord Spencer, Marquis of Salisbury, Duke of Devonshire, Viscount Powerscourt, Duke of Norfolk, Lord Muskerry, Lord Cowper, Lord Ribblesdale, Earl Cadogan, Duke of Argyll, Earl of Kimberly, Lord Playfair, Lord Ashbourne, Lord Castletown, Earl of Donoughmore, Earl of Mayo, Marquis of Londonderry, Earl of Camperdown, Viscount Cross, Marquis of Ripon, Earl of Selbourne, Earl of Rosebery, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Lord Thring, Viscount Middleton, Viscount de Vesci, Marquis of Waterford, Earl of Dunraven, Lord Sandhurst, Earl of Northbrook, Earl of Cranbrook, Lord Herschell, Lord Halsbury, Bishop of Ripon, Lord Monkswell, and the Earl of Morley.[1] It is not to be wondered at that after a debate by such brilliant and eminent men in politics, law, and theology, the House should throw out the measure by 419 to 41 votes. But apart from those members of exceptional and proved intelligence, there are several reasons why all those born in a high position should be better fitted for governing than those born in lower stations of life. In most cases they are removed from the necessity of constantly calculating the gains and losses to themselves which will probably follow any action they take, and thus do not develop that petty egoism which is described as "sharp" and "business-like." Again, the consciousness of their position inculcates in most cases a pride and sense of honour which is entirely lacking in the man who will do anything which is likely to pay. It is true, doubtless, that heredity has not a very great influence on character,

[1] Hansard, Parliamentary Debates.

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but rearing, education, and association undoubtedly has, and those Peers who indulge in doubtful commercial transactions, such as floating companies, which have few assets and fewer prospects, speedily sink to the level of their colleagues in such affairs.

Recent revelations have unfortunately cast a shadow over the commercial integrity of certain members of the aristocracy, and thus degraded the whole class, but to be fair we must examine the influences which were exerted on them, and the history of the reason why it is so common now to see men of high position on the boards of commercial undertakings. The reverence for the aristocracy of birth, characteristic of all races, causes the middle classes in this country to regard them as above suspicion, and the name of a member of that body on a board, therefore, to a certain extent, is regarded as a guarantee that the enterprise will be conducted in a fair and honourable manner.

The tradespeople being thrifty and careful in their personal expenditure, have a certain surplus to invest nearly every year, but are ignorant that the education of the upper classes little fits them either for conducting commercial undertakings themselves or for ensuring that the most rigid laws of commercial honesty are observed by others. The unscrupulous company promoter, however, knows both his public and his board, and while deceiving the first with his aristocratic directors, may in some cases deceive the latter by advancing them sums of money for the use of their names, which he falsely represents as being their legitimate profits. The evil will pro-

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bably cure itself, for the honest members of the aristocracy will become very shy of joining any boards except those of old established trading concerns, and the public will soon begin to regard a new company floated with aristocratic directors with suspicion.

But although there can be no objection to a peer engaging in any honest trading concern, the fact of his doing so undoubtedly not only lowers the estimation in which he is held by his equals in rank and by others, but is also directly opposed both to the ancient principle of *noblesse oblige* and to the modern one of differentiation of function insisted upon by the Trades Unions. The interests of commerce are well guarded in the Lower House, wherein the votes for supplies are entirely controlled, so there is no need of practical commercial men in the Upper.

Other reasons which tend to lower the respect for the aristocracy are the escapades and mesalliances of the younger members with the *demi-monde* and ladies of the ballet, who are still regarded by the eminently "respectable" landed gentry and middle classes as unfit to be the wives of their own sons.

The respect for the peerage in the future will thus depend entirely upon the social actions of its members, but there can be no doubt that for a Second Chamber the country would sooner have a House of hereditary Lords than an elected body. We cannot, indeed, imagine in England the House of Lords being abolished and its place taken by some such body as the French Senate, which consists to a great extent of broken-down provincial

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lawyers, journalists, and doctors, who endeavour to be elected chiefly for the sake of the salary of 9000 francs per annum.

Anyone who has studied history would readily admit that there was as much political intelligence at any time during this century in the House of Lords as in the House of Commons, and probably as a rule there are an equal number in each House who are intellectual, but the rank and file of the aristocracy are at least as well informed and better educated than those members of the Lower House who have spent thirty or forty years amassing a fortune in some commercial undertaking.

It is doubtful, also, whether any of the suggested reforms of the House of Lords would really add to its strength or utility, for, supposing a few eminent men in each profession were created life peers, it is obvious that those who have devoted a lifetime to such specialities as art, music, medicine, surgery, or engineering, can know very little about law or politics. Nor would an election of representative peers by the whole peerage be beneficial, for, at present, the few who understand politics lead the others as completely as the Ministers lead their party in the House of Commons.

But we have already shown that the House of Lords thoroughly understands and performs its constitutional function as a brake on hasty legislation, and it is impossible to suggest how any body of men could be obtained more fitted for such a function, or more likely to be able to exercise it without friction, in a country wherein respect for the Law, the Throne, and the Aristocracy is still indissolubly bound up with its very existence.

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Section II.—The House of Commons

(*a*) Method of Election.

The obvious ideal is to ensure the return of men who are politically the fittest to carry on the affairs of the State, according to the needs of the day and the characteristics of the age, and a perfect House of Commons would represent in exact proportion both the wisdom and wealth of the country, and would neither incline towards the powerful upper classes, nor the numerically more powerful lower.

Now, the strength of the Empire at the present time is entirely dependent on its wealth, and that can only be derived from territorial expansion and industry. The fittest men, therefore, are those who open up new countries, direct the flow of capital to them and found and organise industries at home and abroad. But, although sound common-sense business intellects form the backbone of the mind of the nation, the science of politics is so complicated that no one can hope to be an adept in it who does not early in life devote a considerable portion of his time to the arduous task of mastering its rudimentary principles. The most usual qualifications of candidates are thus either the faculty of acquiring wealth or the faculty of acquiring knowledge. But the electorate in these democratic days have to be educated in order that they should know what are the principles that the candidates intend to support.

In the preceding book (Chapter IV.) the growth of party politics has been mentioned, and since man-

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hood suffrage has become a principle of government, the organisation and drilling of the masses into two great hosts has become one of the main features of our modern political system. In order to do this the two great parties, now styled Conservative and Radical, which, to a certain limited extent, only embrace the principles of the Tory and Whig parties of the earlier days of the century, have formed Associations, which, with agents all over the country, endeavour to educate the voter to understand and approve of the measures which are submitted to their consideration. The principles of these two great parties will be examined later, and at present we only mention them in order to show how the House of Commons is for the most part elected. Of course, there are many members who, from family and local influences, are ensured of a seat, but the majority are selected by the local Party Associations, are bound in honour to support the measures introduced by their party leader, and are in many cases rewarded in various ways for their services. Again there are men of extreme socialistic views whom neither party will admit, or members of some small faction united for a common purpose, who occasionally get returned even without the support of the Association, but these are exceptional cases, and if a candidate stands as a Conservative or a Liberal without being invited to do so, he is regarded with disapproval and condemned for splitting the votes of his party and so risking the seat.

These local Associations chiefly consist as a rule

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of men who administer local affairs, members of the Municipal or County Councils, and upon them thus devolves the duty of finding suitable candidates for Parliament. The candidates usually have a certain social position if they contest a county seat, and in the case of boroughs they are generally men of local influence with some business or property in the towns. In this way great numbers of commercial men are chosen, for although their general business integrity and character is carefully considered they are not required to be men of political education or general culture.

The electorate are bound to vote for the candidates supplied to them or abstain altogether, but on broad general questions it is a matter of absolute indifference to them, whether Mr A, B, or C walks into the division lobby, provided he follows his leader diligently. It is, therefore, merely a question how the candidate will vote at Westminster if elected, and not whether he has any acquaintance with history, law, economy or the philosophy of politics.

Although this system is by no means an ideal one, or at all consistent with individual liberty of thought, it ensures that the mandate of the people shall be carried into effect with the least expense and trouble to the State, for the Associations rely entirely upon voluntary contributions.

But besides commercial members the parties must find a few men, who early take an interest in politics, to carry on the debates in the House, and who will eventually, if they prove themselves worthy, succeed to positions in the Ministry. These are usually

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men with influential relations who have distinguished themselves at the Universities, at the Bar, or in literature. But these men, even if allowed a little more licence in their doctrines by the party managers, are usually absolutely pinned down to a definite programme by their constituents, and so we arrive at this system of modern government. Each party proposes a programme, which is drilled into the simple, but somewhat sceptical elector by professional and amateur canvassing agents. The candidates make their speeches, confining themselves to the items laid down by their parties, and the electorate choose, not the man but the programme, which is certainly as it should be.

(*b*) Effect on the Composition of the House.

The necessary subordination of the individual to the party, although absolutely necessary if any useful work is to be done, undoubtedly prevents many men of the greatest intelligence seeking a seat in the Commons. But such men as a rule are theoretical philosophers or practical scientists who would be of little use as working politicians, and since the Government obviously exists to convert that metaphysical entity, *the will of the people* into working forces, this can be accomplished as well by means of party politics as in any other manner. The love of politics actuates many men of the highest intellect, and many practical commercial men are attracted by the social position which the M.P. still commands, so that we have not yet been obliged to hire our Members at so much a day.

In the United States the members of the House of Representatives are paid at a miserable

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rate, and have no social position at all, and are therefore recruited to a great extent from broken down lawyers and publicans, while in France, where Deputies are also paid, the following may be regarded as the usual type of Lower House.

Professions of Deputies elected in 1893.[1]

Small Landowners,	50
Retired "Functionaries,"	50
Lawyers,	150
Doctors and Veterinary Surgeons,	50
Teachers,	25
Farmers,	40
Journalists,	50
Commercial Men,	60
Priests (Catholic),	2
Priests (Protestant),	1
Labour Members,	10
No Occupation,	50

It must be remembered, however, that most of the members are men who, having failed to make a respectable living in any other way, regard politics as a business, and they must therefore be considered as lower in practical intelligence than the average successful Frenchman of the same class. A comparison of the social status and occupations of the Members of the House of Commons of 1833 and that of to-day reveals some interesting facts and teaches us the great difference between the political thought of the periods.

The figures are as follows :—

[1] These figures are approximate only, and are quoted from Mr E. C. Bodley's "France," book ii. chapter iii.

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COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1833.[1]			1895.[2]	
Occupation or Social Position.	Numbers	Politics.	Numbers.	Politics.
Scotch and Irish Peers, Baronets, Sons or Brothers of Peers or Baronets with no profession or occupation	219	Conservatives, 173. Radicals and Repealers from Ireland, 190. Whigs, 480. Whigs, or Ministerialists, 320. Conservatives, 150. Lord Mahon's figures	91	Liberal-Separatists, 177 Anti-Parnellites 70 = 259 Parnellites 12
Landed Gentry and Persons of no occupation	142		93	
Navy	17		4	
Army	64		42	
Barristers	59		139	
Medical Profession and Scientific	2		13	
Solicitors	6		18	
Literary Profession	6		41	
East and West India Proprietors and Ex-Civil Servants	14		7	
Directors of Commercial Undertakings, Bankers, Manufacturers, Shipbuilders, Engineers, Brewers, Stockbrokers, Colliery Owners, &c.	46		139	Conservatives, 340 Liberal-Unionists, 71 = 411
Shipowners, Merchants, Tradesmen	28		64	
Farmers	—		8	
Manual Workers	—		11	
No description given	50		—	
	653		670	

These figures are merely intended to afford a rough estimate of the mental calibre and quality of the House of Commons, and they cannot be taken

[1] Compiled from the Parliamentary Pocket Companion, 1833.

[2] Compiled from the New House of Commons from the *Times*, 1895.

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in all cases as an accurate gauge of the social position of the members.

Some considerable difficulty was experienced in classifying some of them, because the same individual might be a baronet, a barrister, and a partner in a commercial company, and in such a case the character of his early training and education had to be considered. If he were born of parents of high social position, had received a public school and university education, and had afterwards become a director of a railway or other large concern, he would be placed in the first group, but if he were a self-made business man, who had recently been created a baronet, he would be classified under the commercial heading.

Most of the military members are retired officers, and many of the barristers do not practise, but an indication of the mental condition in which they exist can be inferred from their training for those professions. The manual workers, again, do not still gain their livelihood by their hands, but they are classed together to show that their early mental education was not very extensive.

Rather more than a third of the members have been educated at Oxford or Cambridge, and this is another rough test of the quality of the mental calibre of the Commons. But when we compare the two tables, we notice (1) that the representation of the commercial classes is at the present time out of all proportion to their numbers, and probably excessive, even in proportion to their share of the total wealth of the country; (2) that the number of members derived from the titled and landed classes has greatly diminished in spite of the lavish creation

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of peers and baronets during the last seventy years; (3) that the representation of the legal and other professions has greatly increased.

Although this merely reflects the tendency of the century, it is, I think, very doubtful if modern commercial men are as suitable for legislators as the country gentleman of the first half of the century. The former are neither in contact with men of culture or with the working-classes, for although the small manufacturers know their workmen and their trade, the great financiers who aspire to political honours are chiefly occupied in issuing loans and in floating and reorganising companies. The gentleman who managed his landed estate, took an interest in local affairs, and knew everyone in his parish, was far better acquainted with the mode of living and the needs of all classes.

Unfortunately, we must classify under the heading of commercial the most useful and the most useless members of the community, the most honourable and the most dishonourable, the kindest and the most selfish of all men. The great engineer and inventor, the manufacturer and merchant who supply cheap, but good, commodities, are unfortunately too often confounded with the despicable individuals who form syndicates to purchase property worth, *e.g.*, £100,000, which they at once float into a company, with £150,000 capital, and pocket the profit, without doing any work, and with practically no risk. Members of this class, whether they masquerade under the name of bankers, financiers or brokers, ought to be rigorously excluded from the House of Commons.

But, apart from these commercial parasites, the

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average man of business who, from an early age, is trained to consider whether any particular action *will pay*, is rather apt to degenerate into a popularity hunter, and to swim with the tide, rather than stand by such principles as he feels to be right. While, therefore, he is likely to understand quickly, and obey the commands of the democracy, he is little likely to show any great and independent genius in statescraft.

On the other hand, the mere scholar does not himself feel, and cannot understand, the prejudices and passions with which the practical politician has to deal, and, consequently, there is almost as much danger in an Assembly of theorists as in one composed entirely of manual labourers.

This was clearly proved in the early days of the French Revolution when the Girondins, a party of Socialistic theorists, composed the Assembly, and brought on war with England, Civil War, and the Reign of Terror. It is, therefore, necessary to assure that the balance between highly cultured, but theoretical, and common-sense practical minds is maintained, and this important duty devolves upon the political associations.

It is generally supposed that popular constituencies do not look with favour upon distinguished men of culture, who are therefore usually returned for the universities, or for uncontested seats, but there are some signs which lead us to suppose that the working classes are beginning to realise that a man who has made a special study of politics is more likely to make a good legislator than one who has spent his life in learning and practising the art of acquiring wealth. In the early days of the Trades Unions

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the manual workers appointed each other to be officials on the central executives, but they have since learnt by experience that it is necessary to engage trained accountants and experts to do such work as requires special training and knowledge.

The elections are now carried on in a strictly honest manner, and a return of the expenses has to be made; but although the candidates to-day do not bribe the electors and make them drunk, there are many local charities and clubs to which they are asked to subscribe. Such charity is obviously open to question, and every candidate ought to be compelled to enter in his return of election expenses every subscription to any club or society which could directly or indirectly affect a single vote. . The commercial classes have always in the past been actuated by strictly business principles, and their politics have been entirely governed by their expected profits or loss. They would not listen to Burke, and enforced the restrictive laws against Irish industries, so producing famine and rebellion in Ireland during the last century. They supported North in his policy of enforcing tariffs in the American colonies, thus countenancing the principle of taxation without representation, which was the chief cause of the rebellion. It is true the same classes agitated for Free Trade, but this was done with the idea that they would chiefly benefit themselves,[1] and therefore little credit can be given them.

It would therefore be dangerous to allow a greater preponderance of commercial men in the Commons than now exists, for although it is unlikely that our statesmen will ever be controlled by rings of manu-

[1] See Cobden's statement in Morley's "Life of Cobden," p. 141.

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facturers as are the American politicians, yet the commercial classes might demand some form of protection for their industries which would directly benefit them at the expense of the rest of the community.

(*c*) The relationship between class and party.

There is still a general impression that the aristocracy and wealthy are usually Conservatives, and the working classes Radicals, but a glimpse at the tables will dispel this delusion. Most of the members are returned simply as Conservatives, Liberals, Liberal-Unionists, Home Rulers or Radicals, but in Dod's Parliamentary Companion[1] the profession of political faith is further defined in many cases by the member himself. The following are examples: "a Conservative by conviction"; "an Advanced Liberal"; "a Conservative, though not a slavish follower of the party"; "a Tory"; "a Conservative advocating the constitution and the Empire, Progress with Liberty"; "a Socialist advocating nationalization of the land, railways and mines"; "a Conservative-Unionist favourable to well-considered measures of social reform"; "a Progressive Conservative"; "a democratic Parnellite and Labour representative"; "an Independent Conservative"; "a Conservative in favour of freedom of trade, freedom of contract, freedom of bequest, freedom of speech and freedom from State and municipal interference"; "a Progressive Conservative in favour of fair trade for English manufactures"; "an Anti-Parnellite Home Ruler and advocate of Imperial Federation"; "a Conservative desiring to treat Ireland in a spirit of generous justice"; "a Liberal-Conservative"; "an

[1] For 1898.

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Advanced Liberal in favour of a truly representative second chamber"; "a Liberal to the backbone"; "a Conservative and Unionist prepared to support the powerful Ministry now formed from the leading statesmen of both parties"; "a Conservative and strong supporter of Lord Salisbury's home, colonial and foreign policy."

Some of these professions are a little puzzling and apparently contradictory, such as the *progressive* Conservative who is in favour of *fair* trade, and the Home Ruler who advocates imperial federation; but most are compatible with the ideas of the leaders of one or other party at some time of its existence.

Undoubtedly, however, the instances of 1833 and 1895 are scarcely a fair test of the relationship between social classes and party politics, for the former shows a great majority of Whigs in a house where one-third of the members are aristocrats, and the latter a large majority of Conservatives in a house where nearly one-third of the members are connected with commerce. It is necessary, therefore, to remember that the vast majority of the nation in 1833 supported the reformers of the previous year, and in 1895 those who were opposed to Home Rule for Ireland.

As a matter of fact the upper class families who are associated with politics are usually constant to one party, the middle classes usually vote for the same party as their parents and do not study very deeply the principles which they are supporting, and the manual workers apparently first vote one way and then the other causing the almost regular swing of the pendulum. But on great questions, such as

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Reform, Free Trade, and Home Rule, every voter almost has some ideas, usually derived from his newspaper, and then the great majority, who are not attached by family tradition to either party, determine the question.

This independence is the most important factor of the age, and the party which will enjoy most power in the future will be the one which instigates measures which are able to stand on their own merits and which are honestly desired by the nation. But before speculating as to the future we will consider the results of party politics in the past and endeavour to discover the principles which govern the two great parties at the present time.

Section III.—Local Councillors

Since the health, comfort, and prosperity of the country to a great extent depends upon the administration of the local authorities it is of supreme importance that the various Councils should consist of men of sound disinterested common sense who are acquainted with the practical needs of the districts.

We have already given a description of the constitution, duties, and powers of the local authorities (Book i. chapter v.), and here we intend to examine what class of men form these bodies. Chalmers states that "the standard of education and intelligence among local authorities generally is not so high as could be wished, and, moreover, the classes from whom local authorities are chiefly selected are precisely those who derive most benefit from local expenditure and have the least object in checking extravagance."[1]

[1] Chalmers' "Local Government," p. 18.

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This was written in 1882 before the foundation of the County Councils, before the Sanitary Authorities were dignified with the name of District Councils, and before the Local Government Board had acquired much experience in controlling local expenditure. This latter central authority appoints auditors who conduct the audits of District Authorities, Guardians and School Boards, and disallow or mark as surcharges any items so that the responsibility for extravagance is shifted from the shoulders of the local authorities. The central Board is indeed generally willing, in its anxiety to promote improved sanitation, to sanction large expenditures and in some cases recommends outlays of greater amounts than the local bodies suggest. The great towns are designated Cities, County Boroughs or Boroughs, and the Councils of the first two classes have the powers of County Councils. Birmingham, Bristol, Dublin, Glasgow, Liverpool, and Manchester, for example, are cities, Brighton, Croydon, and Cardiff are County Boroughs, and Derby and Preston are Boroughs.

In order to demonstrate what class of men are elected to the Councils of the largest cities and county boroughs I have prepared, from data which were kindly supplied to me by the Town Clerks, the following table (p. 203), and a consideration of it plainly shows that the Councillors are truly representative of the great manufacturing and mercantile communities. Their number apparently bears no relation to the population, for whereas Bolton with a population of 121,000 has 95, Glasgow and Birmingham with populations of 715,000 and 505,000 have 75 and 72 respectively, and Gateshead with a population of 101,000 has only 40. Most of the Councillors

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A TABLE SHOWING THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF 28 COUNCILS OF TOWNS WITH A POPULATION OVER 100,000:—

Position and Occupation.	Birkenhead.	Birmingham.	Blackburn.	Bolton.	Bradford.	Brighton.	Bristol.	Burnley.	Cardiff.	Croydon.	Derby.	Dublin	Edinburgh.	Gateshead	Glasgow	Huddersfield.	Hull.	Leeds.	Manchester.	Newcastle.	Norwich.	Nottingham.	Oldham.	Preston.	Salford.	Sheffield.	Sunderland.	Swansea.	Grand totals.
Gentlemen	12	6	6	4	2	9	10	2	8	13	9	4	1	3	4	6	5	3	13	7	5	8	5	6	7	4	20	9	191
Barristers and Solicitors	6	6	3	6	1	4	7	1	4	2	2	7	3	—	—	—	3	4	2	3	9	6	3	4	1	8	4	2	101
Physicians, Surgeons, Dentists, & Consulting Chemists	2	5	2	7	—	1	2	3	—	2	1	1	2	2	4	2	6	3	7	4	4	5	2	3	2	2	3	2	79
Authors, Journalists, Secretaries, Schoolmasters	1	1	3	1	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	2	—	—	2	1	2	—	4	—	4	2	1	—	1	3	—	—	31
Artists, Architects, Surveyors	3	—	1	2	1	—	1	—	2	1	1	—	2	2	—	1	2	—	—	1	2	1	2	1	—	1	—	1	28
Dramatic	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	4
Bankers, Stock Exchange, Directors (not otherwise classed)	1	—	1	—	—	1	2	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	3	—	—	2	1	—	4	1	—	21
Quarry Owners, Contractors, Engineers, Shipbuilders	2	2	—	2	4	—	—	2	3	—	3	—	—	—	4	1	—	7	5	—	1	1	2	1	4	1	2	2	49
Builders, House Decorators, Furniture Makers, Wood Workers	3	—	2	8	5	7	6	4	1	2	3	2	5	5	4	4	7	5	4	1	1	3	1	—	4	2	3	3	95
Brewers and Distillers	—	—	1	1	—	2	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	2	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17
Printers and Publishers	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	4	—	—	2	—	3	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	1	—	19
Manufacturers. Cotton, Woollen, and Wearing Apparel Dyers	—	—	12	9	17	—	—	7	—	—	3	—	—	—	2	9	—	6	—	—	—	5	5	7	—	—	—	—	82
Manufacturers. Iron, Coal, and Metals	1	13	1	7	—	—	2	4	1	—	3	—	—	2	4	1	—	4	—	1	—	—	—	2	1	12	—	3	62
Manufacturers. Leather and Boots	—	—	1	—	—	—	4	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	13
Manufacturers. Other Manufacturers and those not specified	2	17	2	6	1	1	9	2	1	2	3	1	2	3	7	5	3	3	17	2	3	8	1	2	6	5	1	1	116
Shippers, Brokers, and Carriers	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	5	—	—	—	1	—	3	—	7	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	2	29
Accountants, Auctioneers, Agents, Managers (not otherwise specified)	5	3	4	8	4	6	9	5	5	2	4	6	4	—	7	6	4	5	4	7	3	2	3	3	5	3	4	6	127
Wholesale Dealers and Merchants	10	5	5	12	14	6	16	8	3	15	10	6	10	9	20	13	9	6	26	7	13	5	4	6	12	9	7	2	268
Tradesmen, Commercial Travellers, and Clerks	6	13	12	13	8	18	13	8	1	4	17	6	17	11	11	4	8	11	17	17	11	12	14	10	12	7	15	7	303
Farmers	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	8
Hotelkeepers, Licensed Victuallers, and Vintners	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	15	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	3	1	2	—	1	4	1	—	—	36
Manual Workers	1	—	—	2	—	1	1	—	2	1	1	4	3	—	—	—	3	2	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	—	—	34
Total	56	72	56	95	60	56	84	48	40	48	63	59	50	40	75	59	64	64	104	64	64	64	48	48	64	64	64	40	1713

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are derived from the class of merchants and tradesmen, but those belonging to the manufacturing classes are nearly as numerous, and solicitors, accountants, and members of the building trades are also well represented. Brewers, distillers, and licensed victuallers—except in the case of Dublin—take little interest in local affairs, and very few manual workers are elected to the Councils of these large cities and county boroughs.

There are usually two or three surgeons or physicians on the Council, but writers and journalists are very poorly represented.

On the whole, the formation of these bodies renders them capable of fulfilling their duties in a very efficient manner, and it is only just that the wealthy commercial classes, who pay most of the rates, should possess the loudest voice in the discussions how they should be raised and expended.

The work done by the Councils is essentially of a practical nature, and although most of the routine business is necessarily concerned with trifling matters of administration, great undertakings, such as the supply of water to Birmingham from the Elan Valley, are often conceived and carried out.

The possibility of being extravagant at the expense of future ratepayers is controlled by the Treasury, and the bye-laws passed must be approved by the central Government; but otherwise these bodies control their own affairs, and are permitted to adopt various systems of sewage disposal, lighting, paving and sanitary inspections, and may lay out parks and pleasure grounds. But a short outline of their duties has already been given, and we only wish to emphasise the fact here that the bodies,

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as at present constituted, consist of a combination of talent most suitable to carry out such duties in an efficient and trustworthy manner.

The London Vestries do not consist of men of such wealth or importance, but in all probability the new Boroughs will attract a higher class of men who will be welcomed by the electorate.

In the smaller towns governed by Urban District Councils, the proportion of manufacturers and large dealers is less, and a great number of manual workers and small tradesmen of little education are returned but there is no doubt that this is not so much the fault of the electorate as of the gentlemen of the towns who will not become candidates.

Rural District Councils and Boards of Guardians are usually composed of one or two local landowners and small tradesmen in the villages, but their duties are not extensive, and they are well controlled by the Local Government Board.

The County Councils consist of a large number of landed gentry and numbers of the aristocracy in the country, and in London the members at the present time belong to the following classes.

London County Councillors, June 1889.[1]

Peers and Peers' Sons,	8
Baronets, Knights, Members of Parliament, Gentlemen, Justices of the Peace,	34
Officers in the Army,	1
Barristers,	10
Solicitors,	6
Physicians and Surgeons,	3

[1] The Aldermen mostly belong to the aristocratic and highly educated classes.

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Authors and Journalists,	5
Secretaries,	2
Architects and Surveyors,	2
Contractors and Engineers,	4
Bankers,	1
Members of Stock Exchange,	1
Builders and House Decorators,	4
Printers,	1
Manufacturers,	6
Brokers,	1
Accountants and Agents,	3
Merchants,	13
Tradesmen,	10
Lodging House Proprietors,	1
Manual Workers,	2
	118

The above table shows that the London County Council consists of members who have received a liberal education, and the commercial element is not nearly so prominent as it is on the Councils of the large cities and boroughs in the provinces.

Since the duties of the old J.P.'s in the counties have been, to a great extent, assumed by the County Councils, it is satisfactory to note that country gentlemen are willing to serve on these bodies, and the electorate are willing to support them.

On the whole, great credit is due to those gentlemen who spend much of their spare time working for the public good, and if instances of corruption have occurred, they have been few and far between. Nevertheless, it is to be regretted that the honourable position of a local Councillor does not attract even more men of high intellect and absolute integrity.

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CHAPTER V

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTIES

Section I.—Constitutional Development

Most men in the upper and middle classes, and many artisans, style themselves Liberals or Conservatives, but if one enquires why they do so, the reason given in nearly all cases is not connected with the general principles and history of the two parties, but is limited to the policy adopted, and the measures proposed or passed within the last twenty years. In general terms the Liberals advocate peace, retrenchment, and reform, and no one, without the strongest reasons, desires war, extravagance, or *laissez faire*, therefore we must all be Liberals. The Conservatives, on the other hand, advocate the preservation of the Empire, the maintenance of our institutions, and the improvement of the condition of the people, and it is difficult to find fault with such principles; therefore we must all be Conservatives.

The catchwords "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" were first raised during the French Revolution, and the United States shout "Liberty" on all occasions, while the great Conservative society, the Primrose League, uses for its motto, "Imperium et Libertas." But modern statesmen seldom use catchwords, which obviously mean nothing, or refer to general party principles, but confine themselves to the measures which interest the country at the

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moment, although they sometimes venture on definitions of such terms as "Jingo," "Imperialist," "Little Englander," and Mr Gladstone once defined a Radical as "a Liberal in earnest," leaving us in happy doubt as to the meaning of a "Liberal." With the extension of the franchise in this century, party principles have been greatly modified, and we can only grasp them by taking a rapid survey of history, and noting the action of the two parties in modelling the Constitution, in directing foreign affairs, and in home legislation.

(*a*) The Royal Prerogative.

Since the time of the Stuarts, the Royal Prerogative has been slowly but steadily undermined, and the power transferred from the King to the Cabinet, but it is impossible to say which party has contributed most to bring about this result. The Whigs petitioned Charles II. to call a Parliament, and the Tories opposed any attempt to coerce the King. Both parties combined against the danger of a Roman Catholic Monarch, and settled the Government by the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement. The fact that George I. could not speak English when he ascended the throne was one of the chief causes of the extension of the power of the Ministers, and Walpole with the Whigs practically governed the country, but Chatham was in favour of "measures, not men," and therefore alienated all the great Whig families.

Walpole used the Royal patronage and opportunity of corruption to increase his own power, while Bute practised corruption to increase the power of the King, and endeavoured to appoint no one but Tories as permanent officials. Grenville, on

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the other hand, was very self-opinionated, and little inclined to consider the King's wishes. Burke at first was violently opposed to the Crown obtaining control over the East Indies, on the ground that it was a violation of the Charter of the Company granted in 1767, but after the outbreak of the French Revolution, he defended with all his might the full exercise of the Royal prerogative. North appears to have been completely under the influence of the King, and was persuaded to continue the war with the American Colonies against his own judgment. After North and Fox had formed a coalition Ministry, Mr Baker in 1783 moved the following resolution—"That it was necessary to declare that to report any opinion of His Majesty upon any Bill or other proceeding depending in either House of Parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, is a high crime and misdemeanour derogatory to the honour of the Crown, a breach of the fundamental privileges of Parliament, and subversive of the constitution of this country." This vote of censure was passed on the Crown by a Coalition Ministry of Tories and Whigs, because the King had influenced the House of Lords against the India Bill. Fox, although arguing that the Prince of Wales had a natural right to become Regent, with full regal powers, during the illness of George III., assailed the monarchy and eulogised the Republican spirit of the French on all occasions. Pitt, on the other hand, although a staunch upholder of the prerogative, insisted that the Prince should become Regent only on the invitation of the Houses of Parliament, and exercise a limited power. Pitt eventually became wedded to

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Catholic Emancipation, and the King dismissed him in 1801.

George IV. was, against his will, compelled by Sir Robert Peel and the Tories to pass the Catholic Emancipation Bill in 1829, and William IV. was persuaded to support the Reform Bill of 1832 by Earl Grey and the Whigs.

During the present reign the questions affecting the prerogative have been very few. The refusal of the Queen to allow Sir Robert Peel to control her choice of Bedchamber Women was largely due to her distrust of the Tories, but the difficulty soon ended in a satisfactory compromise. Peel's action in moving for a smaller allowance for the Prince Consort can be attributed to his usual desire for economy. The habitual disregard of the Royal instructions to communicate all despatches relating to foreign affairs led to Lord Palmerston's dismissal, and the most important authoritative statement regarding the prerogative which has been made during this reign. Lord Beaconsfield added Empress of India to the Royal title, and the reception of the motion made by Sir Charles Dilke, during the administration of Mr Gladstone, to enquire into the manner the Household allowance was expended, proved that the Commons and country are passionately devoted to the monarchy. It is thus impossible to argue that either party has had the monopoly of curtailing the Royal prerogative in the past, and all responsible people on both sides are agreed that any further encroachment on the ancient monarchical power would be a danger and not a benefit.

(*b*) The House of Lords.

In the reign of Queen Anne there was a small

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majority of Whigs in the Upper House, and twelve Tory peers were created to neutralise them. The balance of parties remained fairly even until the Administration of the younger Pitt, who created 140 British peers and made the House strongly Tory. The threat of creating Whig peers to pass the Reform Bill of 1832 was not carried out, and although each party is responsible for about an equal number of nominations for peerages the tone of the House of Lords is strongly Conservative.

The House of Lords often opposes measures sent up by Liberal, but rarely those sent up by Conservative Governments, because the former occasionally pass measures before there is proof that the country really demands them, but the latter generally wait until there is no doubt concerning the mandate of the people. Suggestions for reforming the Upper House, as a rule therefore, come from the Radical party, and form an item in their present programme.

(*c*) The House of Commons.

Franchise Bills are passed by both parties when the country urgently demands them. In 1832 the measure was passed by the Whigs aided by the Irish, in 1867 by the Conservatives aided by the Liberals, and in 1884 by the Liberals. The Tories strongly resisted the first Bill but must have recognised its necessity; the second, owing to a clever move of Disraeli's, must be credited to the Conservatives, although many of them were horrified at the new principle adopted by their leader, and the third was passed after a compromise had been arranged between Mr Gladstone and the Conservative leaders, which necessitated the passing of a Redistribution Bill concurrently with the extension of the franchise.

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Both parties thoroughly understand the claim of the democracy for power, but Conservatives in theory prefer government by cultured and intellectual men and the Radicals by numbers. Herein we come to a real difference between the Conservative and the Radical and one which it is worth while to pause over and analyse. The inherent right of a man to have a voice in the government of his country cannot be combated with any sense of justice, but the question arises how much power should be given to an ignorant labourer, with no property, to vote away the income of the country derived chiefly from the pockets of others? Is it right for statesmen to pass measures at the bidding of people who know nothing of history and economy, are not able to reason, and judge only by their feelings? Is it right to give people what they demand if responsible statesmen foresee such concessions will be followed by evil?

The ideal policy to follow is to educate the people before they have power conferred on them, but no one could maintain that more than 5 per cent. of the voters have any real knowledge of politics at the present time. If the instinct for the individual enjoyment of property is a just one, it cannot be right for the majority of the people to have a perfect legal power to tax the minority twenty shillings in the pound if they wish. If knowledge of politics has any value whatever in the State, it is absurd that a man who has spent twenty years acquiring it should have no more power than a scavenger who removes the ashes.

The argument that the opinion of the crowd as often proves correct in the end as that of experts cannot logically be supported, because the crowd

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never originates a political opinion and active agitation cannot take place until a certain number of thinkers have already embraced the new doctrine and have educated the people to their way of thinking. We none of us allow a baby to eat the paints from his paintbox because he wishes to do so, and so also it would be absurd to grant the requests of the ignorant, when we know the result would be to their disadvantage. One of the Radical election promises is "one man one vote" and it is only Radical constituencies which return labour candidates.

Now, unfortunately, the majority of people know nothing of history, or they would be aware of the danger of entrusting the government of the country to an unrestrained plebiscite. The inevitable result is either a "reign of terror," such as that which followed the French Revolution of 1789, or an unrestrained elected autocracy accompanied by some such results as were experienced under Napoleon III.

Oddly enough, the very class of men who, actuated entirely by a sentimental, irrational form of humanitarianism, advocate the principle of one man one vote, as a rule do not recognise the paramount importance of teaching constitutional history in our Board Schools, and use the extraordinary argument that the main end of education is to enable a man to earn an honest living, and that a knowledge of the history of the last twenty-five years is quite enough. The result is that the political education of all classes is left to paid agents who only teach partisan politics, and the newspapers. Fortunately, although in itself a lamentable sign of ignorance, unquestion-

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ing faith in authority largely determines the vote, and at present the reverence for the aristocracy of birth and wealth ensures the return in the majority of cases of men who, if not always political geniuses, are at least determined to uphold the main system of government, and are adverse to the experimental schemes of Utopists.

Section II.—Foreign Policy

The action of other countries, and the individual characteristics of kings and ministers so greatly influence the foreign policy of Governments that it is impossible to dogmatise on the question of Conservative and Liberal principles. Nevertheless, we can recognise some tendencies which appear to be fairly characteristic, and which stand out in relief against the background of continuity of purpose, and here we propose to give a brief outline of the foreign policy pursued during the nineteenth century with the object of demonstrating them.

Until the outbreak of the French Revolution, Pitt pursued a policy of peace and retrenchment, and in this was supported by the Whigs and the nation, and although he was opposed in the House of Commons by Fox and Burke, who wished to curtail the Royal prerogative, they for the most part agreed with his foreign policy. But the excesses of the Revolution soon destroyed all the sympathy with which it had at first been regarded by the moderate Whigs, and caused the passionate literary outburst of Burke which so greatly influenced the opinion of the country that Fox soon found himself almost alone in protesting against the war feeling,

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which daily gained strength. In 1791 Fox had objected to any increase of the navy unless the full reasons of its supposed necessity were stated to the Commons, and, being supported by the opinion of the country, he had gained his point; but in the next year the war spirit rapidly grew, and the execution of Louis XVI. and the violation of the treaties regulating the navigation of the Schelde caused an outburst of popular indignation, and England declared war against France in 1793. Although Pitt distrusted Russia's designs on Poland and Turkey, and although he knew that Prussia and Austria also wished to enrich themselves at the expense of Poland, he nevertheless joined with the Austrians in the Netherlands, and stated that he had no objection to their annexing territory as recompense for their war expenses, adding that England's indemnity "must be looked for in the foreign settlements and colonies of France."[1]

None of the monarchical powers can therefore be said to have been actuated by any high ideal principles of right, or with disinterested motives when they entered the war. In the following year the English subsidised Prussian troops for the purpose of defending Belgium, but they at once quibbled about the terms of the agreement and hovered around the prostrate Poland until 1795, when they arranged a peace with France, leaving England and Austria to carry on the struggle.

After Bonaparte had gained great successes in Italy, Pitt sent Lord Malmesbury to Paris to negotiate for peace on the basis that the Netherlands should be restored to the Emperor, but,

[1] Fyffe: "History of Modern Europe," vol. i. p. 77.

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although this was refused, Austria signed a humiliating peace in October 1797, and England was left alone to destroy the French, Spanish, and Dutch fleets. In the following year Bonaparte landed in Egypt, but his entire fleet was destroyed by Nelson at the battle of the Nile, and Russia, Turkey and Naples then joined in the war against France. In 1799 Austria again engaged in the campaign with the object of acquiring Savoy and Piedmont, and Pitt and Grenville did not object to her doing so, but hoped she would grant to England an advantageous commercial treaty. The Czar, however, became jealous of Austria and said he would resist all aggrandisement, but nevertheless continued the war with his allies.

During the summer of this year the English and Russians sent an army into Holland, but the whole operations failed owing to the gross incapacity of the Duke of York, but for some unknown reason the Opposition did not seize this excellent opportunity of attacking the Ministry, and no voice was raised against the Royal blunderer. Bonaparte, who had been elected First Consul, next made overtures for peace to George III., which were refused by Pitt on the ground that all the allies ought to be consulted, and he hinted that no guarantee for the good behaviour and sincerity of France would be so acceptable to England as the restoration of the Ancient Royal Family. This of course greatly incensed Bonaparte, and the Austrians being badly defeated at Hohenlinden on December 3rd, 1800, England was again left alone to continue the struggle. Bonaparte now endeavoured to conciliate Russia by offering to

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her the guardianship of Malta, but England naturally refused to acquiesce, and Paul, exasperated by this and the humiliation and defeat of his army under the command of the Duke of York, broke with England and formed an alliance with Sweden, Denmark and Prussia to revive the provisions of the armed neutrality against English privateers which was first instituted in 1780, during the war of the American Rebellion. But after the defeat of the Dutch at Copenhagen, on April 2nd, 1801, the Prince of Denmark relinquished the alliance, and after the assassination of Paul, his successor, Alexander, reversed the policy of his father and sent friendly overtures to England. The Government then voted a subsidy of £300,000 to support Portugal against Spain and France, and although the English were successful in Egypt they shortly afterwards concluded a most disastrous peace, and Fox did not conceal his satisfaction at "the triumph of the French Government over the English." But the peace was of short duration, for some attacks in the English Press, and the fact that we had not evacuated Malta, annoyed Bonaparte, and his insatiable ambition caused him to declare war again in 1803. At this time Fox argued that peace was still possible, but Pitt supported Addington in his measures for defence, although he accepted the Whig proposal for the mediation of Russia. The assumption of the title of Emperor by Bonaparte alienated from him much of the sympathy of the great continental powers, and he became generally distrusted, but Spain still helped him, and an ultimatum being sent to her, she declared war against England in

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1804. In the following year Russia sought an alliance with this country, and a treaty was signed binding the two Powers (1) to resist the encroachments of the French Government, (2) to endeavour to form a general league of the Powers of Europe, and (3) to collect 500,000 men upon the Continent. Meanwhile, Napoleon had crowned himself King of Italy and had annexed Genoa and Piedmont to France, and Austria had joined Russia and England. Then followed in rapid succession the defeat of Germany at Ulm by the French, the defeat of the French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar, and the defeat of Austria and Russia at Austerlitz by Napoleon. Soon after Pitt died, and the Whigs came into power, and Fox at once negotiated for peace at Paris while Napoleon was crushing Prussia and compelling her to cede certain territories to France in return for Hanover, which he then held in hostile possession. But the Whigs failed to arrange a satisfactory peace, and complicated the existing state of affairs by declaring war on Prussia for breach of faith, in which action they were supported by Canning, who "had not the slightest doubt of its justice,"[1] but the seizure of the Danish fleet after intelligence of the treaty of Tilsit between Napoleon and Alexander had arrived, was condemned on the ground of unjustifiable treatment of a neutral State by Grenville and Earl Grey, while Lord Wellesley and the Tories expressed approval. Napoleon, foiled in his attempts to invade England, next issued his celebrated ordinance, known as "the Berlin and Milan Decrees," whereby he prohibited the introduction of all merchandise from Great

[1] "George Canning and his Times," p. 114.

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Britain along the whole coast of Europe; and the Whig Government, on January 7th, 1807, retaliated, by issuing the "Orders in Council," which prohibited goods passing to the Continent by any other source, and when Napoleon employed troops to seize all goods from Great Britain on shore, British cruisers seized all goods coming from elsewhere. Oddly enough these Orders in Council were severely criticised by the Whigs during the Portland Administration, although their Government had originated them.

Canning always maintained the right of belligerents to capture the vessels of neutrals which had the property of enemies on board, and recalled Mr Erskine, because he wished to conciliate the United States by exempting their ships from the operation of the Orders in Council. Annoyed at the interruption to their trade, and hoping to conquer Canada, the Government of the United States used these Orders in Council as a pretext for declaring war on Great Britain, but were soon compelled to make peace without gaining anything. When Napoleon, in accordance with the agreement at Tilsit with Alexander, invaded the Peninsula, Canning at once "pledged himself and the Administration to which he belonged to pursue such measures as might insure Spanish success," and Sir Arthur Wellesley left for Portugal at the head of 16,000 troops, and soon drove the French from that country. But the disaster at Corunna and the death of Sir John Moore caused great disappointment in England, and very discouraging views of the national prospects were indulged in by Lord Grenville and the Whigs. After this date, until the

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final downfall of Napoleon, the principle acted upon by the successive Ministries was to form an alliance with any nation of Europe which was ready to oppose the common enemy, and in 1812 France was at war with England, Russia, and Prussia, and in the following year Austria joined the allies. This alliance continued until the first restoration of the Bourbons, when the designs of Russia on Poland and Prussia on Saxony caused a secret understanding in January 1815 between England, France and Austria to resist the other two Powers, but when Napoleon returned from Elba they all again united to crush him. The Tory Government were inclined to doubt the power of the restored King of France to maintain internal order, but were unwilling to allow the Emperor of Russia to assume the position of chief protector, and thought that "the true interests of Great Britain are much more identified with those of Austria and Prussia in the existing crisis than with those of Russia."[1]

Although both the English and continental Press were in favour of reducing the territory of France and forcing her to pay for the expenses of the war, Liverpool and Castlereagh did not agree with public opinion, and thought that if French territory were ceded to the continental Powers they would not protect it, and so a new war would speedily result, nor did they consider the French could afford to pay a heavy war indemnity. Castlereagh suggested instead that some of the French fortresses should be occupied by the allied troops, and thought that the "King's cause in France is far from hopeless if well conducted, and that the European alliance can be

[1] Lord Castlereagh to Lord Liverpool, August 17th, 1815.

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made powerfully instrumental to his support if our securities are framed in such manner as not to be ultimately hostile to France."[1] The Whig Opposition chiefly relied on the argument that the restored monarchy would not be strong enough to maintain internal order, and that the repressive measures of Louis XVIII. would speedily bring about another revolution.

Although Castlereagh and the Tory Government, with goodnatured contempt, agreed to the principles of the holy alliance, they refused three years later to join the concert of the Powers in the secret treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which had for its object mutual defence against possible internal revolutions, because they recognised that its true purport was to tyrannise over the people. When Canning became Foreign Secretary in 1822 he sent the Duke of Wellington to the Vienna Congress of the Powers, who had met to consider the steps for suppressing the revolutions in Spain and Portugal, and suggested that the colonial harbours of Spain should be blockaded as a reprisal for their depredations on our merchantmen, but he did not approve of interfering with their domestic government, and was opposed to France doing so. Canning did not approve of democratic diplomacy, and watched the Foreign Office very closely to prevent publication of secrets of State, and the *Courier* newspaper at this time attacked him bitterly for placing difficulties in the way of getting foreign intelligence.

It is interesting to note in the light of recent events that when Monroe formulated the doctrine against any further establishment of Colonies in

[1] "Castlereagh Correspondence," vol. x. p. 484.

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America by the Powers of Europe, Canning at once wrote to the British Commission, who were then sitting, to settle boundary questions in the North West of America, that "the principle is one which His Majesty's Ministers are prepared to reject in the most unequivocal manner, maintaining that whatever right of colonising the unappropriated portions of America has been hitherto enjoyed by Great Britain in common with the other Powers of Europe, may still be exercised in perfect freedom and without affording the slightest cause of umbrage to the United States."[1]

In 1824 the Foreign Secretary wished to mediate between Spain and her colonies upon the basis of the independence of the latter, and after the French had crushed her constitutional government, Spain issued an invitation to a congress at Paris to consider the state of her colonies; but although it appeared that the recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies would operate beneficially to Great Britain, and would stop French aggrandisement in America, the idea was very distasteful to George IV., Wellington and the high Tory school of politicians. Nevertheless, Canning persevered with his plan in spite of the chorus of condemnation from the Tories at home, and from all the absolutist Powers on the Continent, except France, who hoped to establish Bourbon Monarchies in the new States of Mexico, Columbia and Buenos Ayres. But Austria, although she had rebuked the British Government for the recognition of the separated Spanish Colonies, only two months afterwards

[1] Some Correspondence of George Canning, E. J. Stapelton, vol. ii. p. 80.

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(March 4th, 1825) propounded to her allies, at a formal conference, the possibility of their finding it expedient to recognise the independence of revolted Greece; and the Czar, although at first ostentatiously excluding Great Britain from the conference on Greek affairs, afterwards joined with her and Austria for the purpose of aiding the Greeks to throw off the Ottoman yoke.

The Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen were at this time in favour of allowing Greek territory under the suzerainty of the Porte, but Peel was opposed to placing the Greeks in great dependence on the Sultan, and Palmerston advocated a large territory and practical independence. Russia soon afterwards declared war on Turkey, and although the principle that Russian aggression should be prevented, dates from 1791, when Prussia and England were allied to preserve the Turkish Empire, no attempt was made to stop the war. But since Canning's Administration the principle of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire has been always adopted in theory, although in practice the dismemberment steadily proceeds without altering the balance of power in Europe to any great extent. After the Turkish fleet had been sunk by the French and English at Navarino in 1827, and the war between Russia and Turkey had been followed by the assumption by the former of a protectorate over the Danubian Principalities, the Dardanelles were declared open to merchant shipping, and Greece was established as a Kingdom. The first King was Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, but in 1833 Otto of Bavaria assumed the Crown.

Between 1830 and 1840, England was closely

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drawn to France, first in order to create the Belgium Kingdom and to settle the frontier troubles, and then to suppress the usurpers Don Carlos and Don Miguel in Spain and Portugal; but while the first of these objects was being carried out, the French crossed their frontiers in order to drive back the Dutch who had invaded Belgium, and Lord Palmerston, backed by the Ministry of Earl Grey, at once took a very firm stand and demanded they should return across the border. This for a time caused a crisis, but the French eventually evacuated the country.

In 1834 Palmerston wrote: "With Russia we are just as we were, snarling at each other, hating each other, but neither wishing for war."[1]

In 1837 the Whig policy was attacked by the Conservatives who sympathised with Don Carlos, and Lord Palmerston was again vigorously assailed three years later on account of his management of Chinese affairs. Nevertheless, although disliked both at home and abroad, he undoubtedly not only maintained, but added to, the prestige of England during this period.

In 1840, France wished to allow Mehemet Ali to govern Syria as well as Egypt, but the other nations preferred to limit his power to the latter country, and formed an alliance for that purpose. This roused the greatest indignation in France, which, however, wore itself out in fortifying Paris.

Two years later the French bullied Queen Pomare of Tahiti into the abdication of her throne and the English Consul, protesting, was seized by their admiral and cast into prison. Sir Robert Peel at

[1] "Life of Palmerston," Ashley, vol. i. p. 298.

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once wrote an indignant letter to Lord Aberdeen who passed the letter on to the French Ambassador. The Duke of Wellington then strongly advocated an extensive plan of military defence, but Lord Aberdeen was opposed to incurring an enormous expense when there was no reason to apprehend any immediate danger and tendered his resignation, which was not accepted, although the Prime Minister pursued his policy of keeping pace with France in defensive operations.[1]

Both the English and French Press then assumed a menacing tone and Lord Palmerston accused the Conservative Government of truckling to France, but a satisfactory compromise was eventually arranged. The next cause of irritation with France was caused by the Spanish Marriages in 1846; but in spite of the ceaseless activity in foreign affairs it was during this decade that the doctrine that universal peace would ensure commercial prosperity was inculcated into the national mind, chiefly by the labours of the Free Traders, and the idea was fashioned into practical shape by the Great Exhibition 1851, wherein was collected the products of all manner and kinds of industries. But while these ideal theories were occupying the thoughts of the English the continental nations were in a state of revolution, and the general principles adopted by Lord Palmerston during the stormy period of 1848 were (1) to maintain peace by an active use of British influence; (2) to encourage Lombardy in her efforts to shake off Austrian rule; (3) to favour the development of German unity; and (4) to recognise and maintain friendship with the new Government of

[1] "Sir Robert Peel," J. S. Parker, vol. iii. chap. xiv.

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France. The Tories on the other hand sympathised with the Austrian Government in their troubles with Hungary and in Italy, but Palmerston strongly supported Turkey in refusing to give up Kossuth and the Hungarian refugees, thereby seriously offending the Czar so that there were good reasons for the *Times'* insinuation that Russia intended to stop his high handed proceedings in Greece during the Don Pacifico affair. But this threat was at once answered in a very anti-Russian tone by the *Globe* and *Morning Post*, which at that time were supposed to be inspired by the Foreign Office.

In 1850 Lords Stanley, Aberdeen, and Brougham attacked the Whig foreign policy and the House of Lords censured the Government, but the Commons answered by a vote of confidence. In the following year Lord Palmerston was dismissed from office and Lord John Russell was defeated soon after. Then for a brief period Lord Derby held the reins and when Aberdeen came to power Palmerston went to the Home Office.

The pleasant dreams of annihilating war indulged in by the Peace Party were soon rudely awakened by the Czar of Russia who was apparently actuated by the mistaken ideas, first that the Turkish Empire was about to crumble to pieces, and secondly, that England was too occupied with her project of imbuing the world with her idealistic schemes of progress to take up the cudgels on behalf of the Sultan. Meanwhile Napoleon, who had seized the throne of France and was anxious to establish himself firmly on it, willingly joined with this country, and Austria was naturally interested in her eastern borders, while Prussia played her usual waiting game. The philo-

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sophic mind of Lord Aberdeen was quite unable to cope with the dissensions of his allies abroad and his colleagues at home, and after the battle of Sinope, the English demanded war with an unmistakable voice, the Cobdenites only dissenting. The principles fought for during the Crimean War were the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, the abolition of Russian preponderance in the Black Sea and the free navigation of the Danube, all of which were arranged after the campaign and formulated into the Treaty of Paris of 1856. But public disappointment at the long duration of the campaign and the inadequate system of transport, commissariat, and medical treatment, following the hesitating and quibbling policy of Lord Aberdeen before the war, caused the Government to become very unpopular in the Commons and in the country, and when Mr Roebuck moved for the appointment of a select committee "to enquire into the condition of our army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the Government whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that army," Lord John Russell resigned, and in spite of the efforts of Lord Palmerston the Government were defeated by a majority of 157 and the Coalition Cabinet fell. Lord Palmerston then formed a Government which carried the war to a successful issue and arranged a satisfactory peace notwithstanding the fact that the French did not prove as friendly at the council table as in the field.

A few years after the war a great wave of Francophobia was caused by the action of Napoleon in supporting Italy against Austria, and after Savoy and Nice had been ceded to the Emperor by Cavour, Lord Palmerston in 1859 plainly intimated

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that England would not permit further cessions of territory. But the Premier was nevertheless in favour of granting liberal constitutions to all countries who demanded it and looked with a favourable eye on the successful struggles of the Italians for freedom. Although his Chinese policy was censured by a majority of the Commons Lord Palmerston was backed by the nation at the general election and scored heavily over the members of the Manchester School Branch of the Liberal party.

In 1863 Lord John Russell proposed a conference of the Powers to settle the affairs of Poland on broad constitutional lines, but Russia declined to accede to the English proposals. In the next year England supported Denmark against the encroachment of Austria and Prussia in the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, but nevertheless did not wish to maintain the existing system of Danish oppression and their opposition to Bismarck was not very spirited. But the Conservatives seized the opportunity and endeavoured to censure the Government both in the Lords and Commons because they had failed to maintain the Duchies under Denmark, but although the vote passed in the Upper it was thrown out in the Lower House. For the next few years during the administration of Mr Gladstone the country was so occupied with domestic legislation that little interest was manifested in foreign affairs, and during the Franco-Prussian war a strict neutrality was maintained. Russia, prompted by Bismarck, then renounced the Treaty of Paris of 1856, and England did not oppose and indeed seemed as though she had withdrawn her influence to a great extent from the councils of Europe.

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The action of Disraeli was very different, and he once more asserted the authority of England in the East, but when the Powers called on Turkey to institute sweeping administrative reforms, he recognised the impossibility of a bankrupt country carrying them out and refused to join them. But instead of using futile threats he adopted a new method in 1875, and quietly purchased the Suez Canal shares for the English Government, thus commencing the policy of acquiring power in the territory of the Khedive of Egypt.

In the following year he refused to join the Powers against Turkey, on the ground that they professed a right to use armed intervention, which right was opposed to all Treaty engagements. But the massacres in Bulgaria caused an extreme emotional wave in England, and led by Mr Gladstone, who worked himself into a rhetorical fury against the Turks, the country rang with denunciations of the Sultan and the supineness of Downing Street. The Conservative policy at this period as usual was to prevent Russian aggression, and to induce Turkey by peaceful means to adopt internal reforms, but when Russia declared war the tension became very great, and the Government called out the reserves and ordered a division of the Indian army to the Mediterranean. The principles which actuated Disraeli were (1) that no engagement by which all the members of an alliance are bound can be set aside by one without the consent of the rest,[1] and (2) that every State must be held to be the judge of its own interests, and has a

[1] See Hall, "International Law," p. 312 *et seq.*

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right to interfere between the belligerents if those rights are threatened. Russia had obviously violated the first of these conditions. The war between Russia and Turkey was followed by the treaties of Berlin and San Stephano, and resulted in Russia acquiring Kars and Batoum while England occupied Cyprus, but the steady dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire still continues while no reforms have been seriously attempted in its interior.

Mr Gladstone was actuated by an ideal sense of humanitarianism which he endeavoured to apply to practical politics. The results were such as usually follow the unequal contests between idealists and the practical world. When he surrendered the Transvaal, the Boer Government, not being altruists, did not at once extend the franchise to the Uitlanders to whom they are indebted for the prosperity of their country, but instead lengthened the period of probation before an alien can be naturalised, and have since endeavoured to neglect the clause of the Convention which prohibits them negotiating with foreign states. The result has been continual discontent leading to the Jameson Raid. Mr Gladstone was actuated by idealism, the Boer thinks he was actuated by fear. But the exigencies of foreign politics are not altered by the private feelings of statesmen and Mr Gladstone, several times in his career, had the misfortune to be forced by events into adopting or supporting a line of policy contrary to his principles. With most peaceful instincts, he was obliged to prepare a budget to meet the expenses of the Crimean War, and was compelled to adopt force to restore

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order in Egypt, and to uphold the Khedive against the National Party headed by Arabi Pasha.

It is, however, impossible at present to say how far he approved of the bombardment of Alexandria, and the after occupation of Egypt, but we know that he only regarded it as a temporary expedient for the purpose of restoring order, and it has been stated in the *Times* that Lord Rosebery when Foreign Secretary refused to consider the question of evacuation,[1] which was proposed by the Prime Minister. The delay in endeavouring to rescue Gordon has never yet been explained, but whoever blundered the responsibility ultimately rests on the Government of that period.

But this ideal form of humanitarianism showed itself in another manner during the latest Armenian massacres. After his retirement from public life the veteran statesman once more formulated the highest ethical precepts in magnificent rhetoric, and *publicly* suggested as a *practical* diplomatic act that our Ambassador should be recalled from Constantinople, but that if that failed to affect the Sultan's policy no further warlike steps should be taken. Now, if we were only all philosophers and literally acted upon the Christian ethics, wars, strife and competition between both nations and individuals would speedily be abolished. A thoughtful child understands the absurdity of making expensive machines in order that they should destroy people paid so much a day to fight for a cause they know nothing about, and which in all probability could not in the slightest degree affect them or their

[1] As far as I am aware Lord Rosebery has never either stated such a fact in public or denied it when it was published.

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families, but men who understand natural science and who know the history of the human race, recognise that competition and war in one shape or another has always been and is still the strongest force actuating the whole universe. Although Mr Gladstone was extraordinarily ignorant of natural science he was well acquainted with ancient and modern history, and must have known that, although the teachings of philosophers and others have modified the barbarous customs and practices of campaigns, they have not yet prevented war, and unfortunately show few signs of so doing.

But besides being actuated by the idealism of a philosophic Christian, Mr Gladstone apparently was imbued with those ideas peculiar to Liberals of all ages, which lead them to attach a higher importance to the support of national independence than to liberty. Now, it may be a matter of opinion whether the recognition of the independence of countries is more politic than endeavouring to ensure the liberty of their inhabitants, but there can be no doubt which policy is the more humane. Napoleon I. being the Emperor of France, it was the duty of those who advocated the independence of nations to oppose any attempt to subdue him, but those who were actuated by the humane policy of preventing Europe being ground under the heel of a tyrant thought otherwise. At the present time, those who advocate the independence of the Soudanese would have allowed them to butcher all the neighbouring tribes and lay waste the fertile country, but the humane supported the Government in substituting a strong and just English rule for the barbarism of the Khalifa.

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Again, anyone who has been in China must have been sickened with the horrid sight of their prisoners cast into cages at the corners of the street, after a summary trial by an autocratic Mandarin, and must have rejoiced at the prospect of the country being opened up by modern civilisation, which will gradually lead to reform in the whole system of government, but the advocates of independence argue that neither Russia, Germany, or England has any right there at all.

It is this desire to maintain the independence of nations which govern themselves in a barbarous manner, which is so incompatible with the professed desire of the Liberal mind for liberty to all subjects at home.

The foreign policy of Lord Salisbury has been based upon the sound principles of his predecessors. Crete has been liberated from the Ottoman rule after two years' action of the "steam roller" of the Powers and a war between Greece and Turkey. The expansion of Russia towards Constantinople being checked by the Powers, and towards India by the British, has taken place in a due Eastern direction, and resulted in the acquisition of Port Arthur, and a great influence over the future of Manchuria and the North of China. Lord Salisbury at first apparently intended to uphold the integrity of China, but afterwards, finding that nation moribund, he took steps to ensure that the balance of power should be maintained in the Far East. It is but the history of the Ottoman being repeated in the Celestial Empire. If the Chinese Empire can be maintained and the door kept open, England, Germany, the United States,

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and Japan will benefit most, and if the country is divided into "spheres of influence," and England pursues her usual policy of equal opportunities in her sphere, while Russia imposes tariffs in the North, England will still gain, since the bulk of the trade will naturally flow along the lines of least resistance, and a railway from Pekin to Hong-Kong, tapping the Yang-tze-kiang provinces, will be a far better highway than one running through Siberia. Hong-Kong is geographically the most suitable for, and is already the centre of, the shipping world in the Far East, and the total tonnage entered and cleared in 1897 was twice as great as that in Shanghai, and twelve times as great as that in Tientsin. The railway terminus at Hong-Kong would thus furnish a far better centre for trade than any terminus in Russia; and although Port Arthur and Talienwan will be of the greatest service as outlets for Russian trade, they will never be able to compete with Hong-Kong.

The squabble of the Powers over paper concessions is both futile and undignified, for in all probability they will have no value whatever in ten years' time, and, under the most favourable circumstances, they are not likely to carry more weight with the Chinese than the present treaties which are only observed as far as they suit the pockets of the likin collectorate and provincial Mandarins. Some practical policy must be adopted and acted upon without delay, and there are two courses open. Either to join with Japan, Germany, and the United States—if they are willing to lend material aid, if necessary—and insist that no part of the Chinese Empire shall be closed to free trade, or allow Russia to

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pursue her plans, and in the meantime claim a sphere of influence over the whole of the Yang-tze, and open up the country by means of a railway to Hankow, and the navigation of the river above and below that town.

It is not the guns of Russia which are likely to upset our influence in the Far East, and the terrible fact that the Chinese Viceroys imagine we are afraid[1] need not seriously disturb our sleep; but the energy and industry of Japan and the United States are factors which must be remembered by our merchants, and although we possess over 60 per cent. of the trade with China, during the last ten years America "has increased her interest in the importation of plain goods by 121 per cent. in quantity and 59½ per cent. in value. On the other hand, the interest of Great Britain and India in similar has decreased 13¾ per cent. in quantity, and 8 per cent. in value."[2]

But besides being a formidable commercial rival, the United States has made her bow as an Imperialistic Power, and Spain has bade a last farewell to her colonies. This advent of the States as a Power outside America is a new portent of the inherent power of the English-speaking races to overrun the world, and may in time lead to important modifications in our Far Eastern policy.

This very brief summary of events explains to a certain extent the general principles which govern the foreign policy of English Ministers, which can be summed up as—

1. Continuity of purpose; no Minister, however

[1] See "The Break-up of China," by Lord Charles Beresford.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 102.

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much he may have opposed the policy of his predecessor, endeavours to subvert it, and as a rule the original policy is continued.

2. Isolation. England never forms alliances for offence or defence in hypothetical cases, but only to attain some definite object.

3. The maintenance of the balance of power in Europe and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

4. The maintenance of the balance of power in the Far East and the defence of our Asiatic possessions; for this purpose England has acquired Aden and the island of Perim, Hong-Kong, and the Straits Settlements, and now possesses or occupies all the chief coaling stations round the world, Gibraltar, Malta, Port Said, Suez, Aden, Colombo, Singapore, and Hong-Kong, and crossing the Pacific, Canada, so that we can sail on English ships and encompass the globe without once putting into a harbour over which flies a foreign flag.

5. To acquire a passage through the centre of Africa from Cairo to the Cape. To do this we have occupied Egypt, and pushed up the Nile to Khartoum, and working from the south annexed Cape Colony, and colonised Rhodesia.

The above description of the foreign policy of the century shows us clearly that no definite principles can be credited to either party. Pitt was a lover of peace, but was forced into the Napoleonic war, and the bitter criticisms of Fox, which showed an absolute lack of patriotism, we must charitably suppose were, to a certain extent, caused by a long life in hopeless opposition. Castlereagh was in favour of monarchies supporting each other, but Canning supported the attempts of countries to win inde-

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pendence and constitutional government. Peel was actuated by the desire to render the country safe against all contingencies, and distrusted France; but Aberdeen was in favour of reduced armaments, trusted Guizot implicitly, and failed to understand the motives of Russia. Palmerston was an Imperialist, who was in favour of helping other nations to obtain independence and constitutions; but Gladstone was opposed to any interference, and preferred to allow nations to remain in the grossest ignorance and in the most elementary condition of civilisation.

In broad general terms we can say, however, that the Conservatives have a greater love of empire for its own sake, and the Liberals are more apt to calculate the commercial gains and losses; but if the latter understood that we can only prosper commercially by the extension of our trade into every country (see page 240), the policy of the two parties would be practically the same. Politicians in fact do not admit that any general principles can be applied to foreign policy, for the measures adopted depend so much upon the actions of other countries and the special circumstances of the cases, that it would obviously be impossible to apply any general hard and fast rules to each. At the present moment the policy of Lord Beaconsfield is embraced both by Lord Salisbury and Lord Rosebery, and there is no other leader of the Liberal party who has had the opportunity of showing by his practice what are his principles.

We must be extremely careful in all cases when examining criticisms of policy from the Opposition to remember it is part of their duty to oppose, and we must not attach much importance to the extreme

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utterances during electioneering contests; but in order to form an idea of party principles it is necessary to study what each has done in the past under circumstances which may be regarded fairly as analogous.

Section III.—Domestic Legislation

The striving of the two parties to secure office and to retain it when secured has had a marked effect on the legislation of the century. It has caused the Conservatives to pass measures which the country demanded at the time, but which probably would have been otherwise resisted for some years. Sir Robert Peel's announcement of his intention to repeal the Corn Laws, was undoubtedly accelerated by Sir John Russell's letter; and Mr Disraeli's Reform Bill of 1867 was accepted, with many amendments, by the Liberals, because they recognised the necessity of some such measure. At the present time the old-fashioned "Tories," who are supposed to oppose any and every measure of reform, consist only of a few old people of little importance; but the modern Conservative party embraces the great majority of intellectual men of all classes, and is desirous of a steady, safe, and sure development.

On the other hand, the Radicals are checked in their headlong career by the fear of advancing too fast for their moderate supporters, who object as much to hasty experimental legislation as the rest of the nation, with the exception of an insignificant number of fanatical theorists, Communists, and Socialists of various denominations. The main

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result of party politics, combined with manhood suffrage, is thus to accelerate the actions of the one party and to retard those of the other, so that in practice the number and scope of the measures passed by either party are almost identical.

(*a*) Questions of National Economy.

The policy in the middle ages was to prohibit the exportation of corn altogether, but this was abandoned in the fourteenth century. Charles II. allowed exportation when the home price of wheat did not exceed 53s. 4d. per quarter, and importation was forbidden until that price was reached, when it was permitted, although a heavy duty was imposed. At the Revolution the duties on importation were unchanged, but exportation was encouraged by a bounty of 5s. in the quarter, so long as the home price did not exceed 48s. In the early part of the eighteenth century the Tories attempted to apply the principle of unrestricted trade in corn, but failed, and Walpole afterwards reduced the duties on many articles of export and import, and attempted unsuccessfully to reimpose excise duties.

Grenville and North were strongly in favour of taxing the American colonies, and contributed thus to the chief cause of our losing them. Pitt, Camden, Shelburne, and Burke were opposed to taxation without representation, and Shelburne afterwards attempted to negotiate a treaty with the American States on the lines of reciprocal free trade. Pitt (the son) was in favour of free trade and the removal of the restrictions on Irish commerce, but nevertheless thought that Ireland should contribute towards the maintenance of the British navy.

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In 1791 the importation of wheat was prohibited until the home price rose to 50s., but the home supply was soon inadequate and owing to the rapid increase of the population, and the small quantity of wheat imported the price in 1795 rose to 126s. per quarter. In 1800, Pitt, although agreeing with the principles of Free Trade, was inclined to protect the home growers of wheat by legal means. The Bill of 1815 was based on the two extremes of complete prohibition until the price rose to 80s., and complete freedom when it was above that level.

Huskisson, Palmerston, and the Liberal Tories favoured Free Trade and Canning's Bill of 1827 allowed wheat to be introduced at 60s., and thirteen years later Peel introduced his scheme for a sliding scale.

There is at present no fundamental difference between the opinions of the two parties on the question of Free Trade. The fact that the Corn Laws were repealed by a Conservative Government merely proves that Sir Robert Peel was converted, and was supported by a sufficient number of followers to carry the measure at the time when the country demanded it, and the Conservative Government of Lord Derby having decided to accept the principle, it has never been seriously attacked since. At the present time attempts are being made to establish some kind of colonial commercial federation, but this, as far as the United Kingdom is concerned, will be based on the main principle of the "open door" to all comers.

But, although the whole of the population are

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practically unanimous on this question, very few people understand why we continually grow more wealthy in spite of the diminution in our exports and the increase in our imports. I have dealt with this question at some length before,[1] and here I only propose to repeat the main conclusions arrived at, in order that those who are unacquainted with the subject may have some idea why we need not be unduly alarmed at the decrease in the value of our exports.

The tendency for English labourers to demand an ever increasing wage, compels manufacturers to carry on their business, when possible, in other countries where labour is cheaper. This drives capital out of England into the colonies or foreign countries, but the owners of the capital in many cases live at home, where they spend the interest accruing to them. Further, the central executive offices of many foreign companies are in London, so that a great army of brainworkers are paid from profits made elsewhere. The excess of the value of imports over that of exports, which in 1897 was £157,000,000, is therefore spent in this country by persons residing here but receiving their incomes, directly or indirectly, from industries carried on elsewhere. But, if the English artisan is displaced by Hindoo or Chinese coolies in the cotton industry and by Germans in the iron, he still finds occupation as an administrator or director of mechanical labour abroad, for which position he has already proved himself to be superior to individuals of any other race, or he will be occupied

[1] "Ignorance," book iii. chapters iii. and iv. Book iv. chapter vi. section iii.

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in the purely financial and executive work at home.

To take an extreme example. Supposing half the population consisted of capitalists of no occupation receiving interest from America, Asia, Australasia, Africa, the Continent and elsewhere, so that each person's income was £200 a year, and that the other half of the population performed all the manufacturing, transport, domestic service, in fact all the work required in the whole community, but manufactured nothing at all for export, then the exports would obviously be nothing at all, but the imports would be of the value of 20,000,000, *i.e.* half the number of the population, multiplied by £200, the income of each one, which gives a result of £4,000,000,000, or ten times the present amount. We have assumed here in order to make the illustration complete, that no raw material is produced at home and that it is all imported, so that eventually the whole incomes of the capitalists, whether spent in buying commodities or paying wages, would be again spent in acquiring raw products or food from foreign countries.

But the practical commercial man will wish to know where the necessary capital is to come from to secure this result, if it does not proceed from manufacture. Territorial acquisitions by conquest or peaceful occupation is the first source, and the second is the amount saved by living in a country where every article is procured from the cheapest market. The resident in England can live on Russian corn, American beef, and Australian mutton cheaper than he could live elsewhere, and

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if he saves a little every year he can speedily become a capitalist, which capital he can invest abroad.

We acquire Rhodesia for an initial outlay say of £5,000,000 raised in England, and it affords homes for thousands of our population, some of whom will acquire fortunes there and spend them at home, and others resident here will receive dividends from the mines and other manufactures carried on there, so that in a few years' time that amount will be returned tenfold to England. Again, if we hold a great number of shares in American Railways, Foreign Loans or other securities, we are spending here the profits gained by the work of Americans and other foreigners abroad.

Although, therefore, the value of the imports and exports truly represent *the trade* we do with the Colonies and foreign countries, it is not a measure of *the profits* we derive from them. For instance, a man may establish a cotton factory in Bombay, procure his raw cotton and labour there, and sell his manufactured goods to the natives. He thus imports and exports nothing, but may, nevertheless, make a profit of £5000 per annum, a greater part of which he may remit to England in order to keep his wife and family there. That the tendency to live at home on the profits accruing from industries carried on elsewhere is an actual practical fact, can be proved in the following manner:—

1. The exports are continually diminishing and the imports are constantly increasing.

The exports diminish at the rate of about two or three millions per annum, and the imports increase at the rate of about seven or eight millions per annum.

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2. The amount of capital invested abroad is estimated at 1500 millions,[1] and according to the *Economist* the average amount of 56 millions is added to it every year.[2]

3. The number of individuals engaged in commerce, *i.e.* as merchants, money dealers, bankers, and in the work of transport by sea and land, increases more rapidly than the number in any other class of the community. The following table shows the populations in 1881 and 1891 divided into classes, and the percentages of each class to the total :—

CENSUS FOR ENGLAND AND WALES.

Class.	1881.		1891.	
	Number.	Per Centage	Number.	Per Centage
Professional Class	647,075	2·5	926,132	3·2
Domestic ,,	1,803,810	6·9	1,900,328	6·6
Commercial ,,	980,128	3·8	1,399,735	4·8
Agricultural ,,	1,383,184	5·3	1,336,945	4·6
Industrial ,,	6,373,367	24·5	7,336,344	25·2
Unoccupied ,,	14,786,875	56·9	16,103,041	55·5
Total . .	25,974,439		29,602,525	

We see that the Commercial Class has increased 1 per cent., while the Industrial has only increased ·7 per cent., but in the latter are included dealers and sellers as well as manufacturers, so the figures probably give a higher percentage of increase than they would do if it were possible to obtain statistics of those occupied in manufacturing pure and simple. The fact that the Domestic Class is decreasing in proportion to the population, argues a greater pros-

[1] Estimated by Sir Robert Giffen.

[2] The *Times*, speech of Mr Ritchie at Croydon, Nov. 24th, 1898.

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perity among the working classes, and the fact that servants are always at a premium shows that the supply does not exceed the demand.

The two main principles to be followed then to ensure the financial prosperity of the country are :—

1. To open up as many countries as possible for purposes of trade, and to invest all the capital we can spare in them and in our Colonies.

2. To make England healthy, comfortable, attractive and cheap to live in, in order to cause the wealthy of all nations to settle here and spend their incomes.

The practical bearing on party politics is that we should oppose, on the one hand, all those who are adverse to the increase of our possessions and commercial enterprises abroad, and on the other all those who would in any way strive to limit the importation of goods from the cheapest markets. But at the same time, we must not forget the enormous number of people who are engaged in manufacture, and by upholding the principle of the open door wherever possible, aid them to the utmost of our power to find a market for their goods.

Currency Questions.

In 1800 Pitt renewed the Bank Charter for twenty-one years on the Company advancing £3,000,000 to the public without interest. Peel in 1819 declared himself a champion of the doctrine that the true standard of value consisted in a definite quantity of gold bullion, and during the crisis seven years later Lord Liverpool's Government urged the Bank to advance notes on the security of deposits of goods instead of the issue

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of Exchequer Bills. Canning and the Liberal Tories supported this and the Bank, after being allowed a special issue of small notes, consented to set apart three million to be advanced on loans of security of merchandise.

Peel's Bank Act of 1844 permits the Bank of England to issue paper, but compels it to keep a certain reserve of gold as a balance against it and is still in force, but it is obvious that questions relating to the currency cannot possibly at any time be connected either with real or imaginary Conservative or Liberal principles, and all parties combined to pass this Act.

Bimetallism.

The subject of bimetallism cannot be discussed at length in this place, but a few words are necessary to show the action the leaders of the two great parties are at present disposed to take. Obviously the question of bimetallism has no relationship to party at all, but generally speaking the Conservatives appear more inclined to favour it than do the Radicals.

"Bimetallism means any currency system which would establish a right on the part of a debtor to discharge his liabilities at his option in either of the two metals at a ratio fixed by law."[1] That the ratio can be maintained by law is proved by the fact that France, America, and the Latin Union adopted this system until 1873, and that up to that date the ratio in value between gold and silver remained constant at about 15½ to 1 in spite of large fluctuations in the amounts of the two metals discovered year by year.

[1] Major Leonard Darwin, "Bimetallism," p. 5.

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Since silver was demonetised its value has steadily decreased until the present time, and the silver using countries, such as India and China, witnessed the value of their coins in terms of gold fall, until the rupee obtained an artificial gold value when the Indian mints were closed to silver in 1893.

It is argued by bimetallists that the value of gold has appreciated in terms of commodities, and by monometallists that the cheapness of commodities is due to excessive production, machinery and competition. However, among the various theories and fancies, this one fact of great importance stands clearly out. *If commodities are cheap in England and we are paid interest on foreign loans and investments in gold there is a great gain to those who own such property if they live here.* (See p. 243.) If the total currency is increased by the addition of a large amount of silver coins, the first effect would be a general raising of prices which would benefit the manufacturers, but injure the wage earners and those in receipt of fixed interest or salaries. The advantages claimed for bimetallism by its supporters are :—

1. That it would raise prices and so stimulate trade.

2. That it would steady prices by increasing the total currency.

The disadvantages urged against it are :—

1. That it is not desirable to raise prices.

2. That the cheaper metal would drive out the dearer from circulation.

This second objection would be met by allowing the debtor to pay in which metal he wished,

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otherwise the creditor would demand the scarcer and dearer metal, and the divergence would increase and break the ratio. Again, the £800,000,000 of gold bullion at present existing would, in any case, take a great deal of exterminating.

But the action of the Legislature will be determined largely by that of America, France, and other countries, all of which must agree as to the ratio to be adopted. On February 28th, 1893, the following motion was proposed in the House of Commons by Sir H. Meysey Thompson, and seconded by Mr S. Montague:—

"That in view of the growing divergence of value between gold and silver, and the serious evils resulting therefrom, this House urges Her Majesty's Government to use its utmost influence to procure the reassembling of the Monetary Conference, and to impress upon our representatives the immediate necessity of finding some effective remedy in concert with other nations."

The following opinions were then given:—

Mr Gladstone: "Our opinions are that no plan has been opened by which it is possible, or shown to be possible, for us at the present time to make a change in the standard of value in this country."

Mr Chaplin: "I am of opinion that bimetallism would be the best and most effective remedy for all the evils of which we complain at the present time; I go so far as to say, so great are those evils, that if I could not obtain bimetallism without it, I would even consent to the adoption of bimetallism in this country."

Mr Goschen: "I base my support of the motion, not upon any bimetallic heresy, not upon bimetallic

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theory at all, but upon the recommendation of the Royal Commission, that it is worth while to hear more commercial opinions on proposals which would lead to a more extended use of silver, and so tend to prevent an apprehended further fall in the value of that metal."

Sir William Harcourt: "The avowed object of this motion is to raise prices by an artificial system. That was the true history of bimetallism, but those are not the objects which we desire."

Mr Balfour denied that he said at Manchester that he preferred a depreciated currency, because it would raise prices, but thought that the evils complained of might be mitigated by some international agreement, and that the Conference should be encouraged by the Government with that hope.

On March 17th, 1896, with the Conservative Government in power, the House agreed to the following motion of Mr Herbert Whitley: "That this House is of opinion that the instability of the relative values of gold and silver since the action of the Latin Union in 1873 has proved injurious to the best interests of this country, and urges upon the Government the advisability of doing all in their power to secure, by international agreement, a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver." The mover argued that bimetallism would produce stability, and so improve trade.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, thought the question was a very difficult one, and one on which no one ought to dogmatise, but agreed that if the ratios of 15½ or 16 to 1 were adopted, it would be dishonest to the creditor. He

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proceeded thus: "I am bound to say that if I look to the condition of the country generally, I see no reason whatever that would justify a change in our currency system."

It is not to be expected that either party will adopt any determined attitude on this question, for it is perfectly certain that the constituencies will never understand the arguments for and against bimetallism, nor can the question ever be used as an electioneering cry, for no one can promise a cheap loaf, as in the case of the Free Traders, but, on the contrary the bimetallists can only prophecy increased prices, which the working-man will resent, and a doubtful improvement in trade, which will perhaps ultimately lead to a rise in wages more than equivalent to the rise in price of commodities.

There can be no doubt that those who have studied the question deeply find it very difficult to come to any dogmatic conclusion, but, on the whole, we must allow that a bimetallic system would probably benefit India, but would be of no great gain to any gold using country, except that it might possibly steady the standard of value, and minimise the fluctuation in the rate of exchange.

The practical action of the Government in 1893 was to close the Indian Mints, and in the same year the United States Treasury, which had bought, under the Sherman Act, 54,000,000 ounces of silver per annum, or one-third of the production of the world, repealed that Act, and the price of silver fell. The effect in India has been that the imports of silver have fallen about a half, the price of silver has fallen, but the value of the rupee has

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risen to, and is fixed at, 1s. 4d. Another effect of the uncertainty as to the future action of the Government is, that capital is not flowing into India as rapidly as before. The suggestion of the Commission in 1899 that both a gold standard and currency should be established in India was acted upon by the Indian Government and the subject of bimetallism as far as this country is concerned is no longer of interest.

(*b*) Religion and Politics.

In a world of philosophers capable of realising the difference between the material and the ideal, there could be no more connection between religion and politics than between the colour blue and the sweetness of sugar.

Religion, in its highest sense, only deals with the spiritual communion between God and man, and politics concerns itself with the material relationships between man and man. Nevertheless, since all expressions of doctrine and all forms of ritual must necessarily be of a material nature, it has always been a part of the duties of those who govern the country to regulate, not only material conduct, but also spiritual beliefs.

But here we are only concerned with the parts which the two great political parties have played in respect to religious thought and the development of toleration. During the reign of James I. there was a strong tendency for the people to divide into Puritans and Churchmen, the former of whom regarded the Parliament as the bulwark against vice and popery, while the latter were chiefly subservient to the King and the Bishops, who wished to enact the most rigid conformity. After Cromwell had

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used the Puritan feeling to break the force of the Cavaliers, a spirit of toleration gradually grew up, but, nevertheless, only members of the Church were allowed to hold office. During the early years of the eighteenth century, the country gentry and clergy were Tories, united in supporting the Church, and the commercial classes and various dissenting Protestant bodies were Whigs.[1]

The Tories who sympathised with the Jacobites then tried to break the power of the dissenters by the Occasional Conformity Act and the Schism Act, but the Whigs who feared Jacobitism were very intolerant of the papists. The religious feeling in the early years of the eighteenth century, was indeed, so firmly intermingled with the dynastic question that it became of subsidiary importance, but as the fear of Jacobitism diminished so did the virulence of religious animosity, and towards the middle of the century a spirit of indifference seems to have pervaded the people. In 1763 the Tories allowed the virtual establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Canada, and this at once excited much indignation among the Whigs.

The statute book is but a poor indication of the spirit of the age, because a great number of Acts merely legalise customs which have long been adopted, and the date of the repeal of an Act is no indication that up to that period it had been rigorously enforced. Nevertheless, when dealing with long periods of time the dates afford convenient land marks, and a review of the whole shows the gradual growth of religious toleration, and the growing inclination of the people to

[1] Lecky: "History of the Eighteenth Century," vol. i. p. 3.

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demand freedom of conscience as well as liberty of person. It seems, therefore, that the best method to be adopted, where space is of great importance, is to quote the chief provisions of the Acts relating to religious belief, and to hope that the reader either possesses already, or will at some future time acquire, a more detailed knowledge of the forces which led to them.

In 1790 the Roman Catholic Relief Act was passed, which permitted Catholics to execute the offices of high constable, churchwarden, and overseer by deputy, and allowed them to assemble for religious purposes, but insisted that all priests should be registered by the clerk of the peace, that notice of all meetings should be given to quarter sessions, and that the door of every place of assembly should not be locked.

In 1812 a Relief Act for Nonconformists provided that preachers and persons resorting to religious assemblies should be exempt from the same penalties as persons taking the oaths under the Toleration Act of 1688.

These two Acts thus create the right of meeting and holding services of persons otherwise than members of the Established Church, and were passed by Tory Governments.

In 1825, an Act regulating jurors relieved all ministers of religion from serving on juries, and in 1829 was passed the Emancipation Act for Roman Catholics which permits them to vote at elections, sit in Parliament, and hold civil and military offices with a few exceptions.

Pitt, Canning, Fox, Grattan, and Plunket were always in favour of emancipating the Catholics, and

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would have introduced a measure of relief any time after the Act of Union, if George III. had not absolutely refused them permission to do so. Loughborough, Addington, Liverpool, and the Bishops consistently opposed the measure, and although passed by the Duke of Wellington's Government, Sir Robert Peel and the Tories resisted it until there was no doubt of the opinion of the House of Commons, and the King only consented to it at the last moment, when he could find no one to form a Ministry. Thus, after fifty years' agitation and a serious rebellion in Ireland, an Act was at last passed giving political freedom to a class of people whose chief sin was their ignorant fidelity to a priesthood who were willing to adopt any means to attain their own ends.

The Oxford movement is of chief interest from a political standpoint, because in the various metamorphoses of Mr Gladstone's character, his steady development towards the high church party never varied, and so produced the novel phenomenon of a high church Radical. But the doctrine of evolution so fully elucidated by Mr Herbert Spencer, and popularised with such an abundance of illustration by Mr Charles Darwin, has probably influenced modern thought as much in the latter half of this century as did the works of Voltaire and Rousseau in the last, with the result that the doctrine that any creed must necessarily be infallible has passed from the thoughtful and the demand for toleration has *pari passu* increased in intensity.

In 1867 the Conservatives repealed all the provisions requiring a declaration against the doctrine

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of transubstantiation as a qualification for the exercise of any civil office, franchise or right, and in 1870 the Liberals disestablished the Irish Church. In the same year, the question of sectarian teaching in the Board Schools, established by the Education Act, was discussed at great length in the House of Commons and in the Press, and although the Bill was approved by both parties in its main outlines, some of the Conservatives wished to have the doctrine of the Church of England taught. In 1871 an Act provided that persons taking lay academical degrees or holding lay appointments or offices at the universities should not be required to subscribe to any formulary of faith, and the Act of 1888 to amend the law as to oaths is another broad step in the direction of toleration for all positive or negative beliefs. We see that both parties, in general terms, are becoming more tolerant and broad in their views, but perhaps the Conservatives have still more sympathy with the Church of England, and the Radicals with the Nonconformist bodies. The disestablishment of the Welsh Church is thus an item in the Radical programme. Both parties at the present moment are prepared rigidly to enforce the due observance of the ritual, and the dogma of the Church by its officers, but Mr Balfour favours the view of encouraging the Bishops to exert their authority, and Sir William Harcourt appeals for a test case in the Courts. But this question will be more fully treated in a chapter on the national religion.

(*c*) Local Government.

Both parties legislate as required for the better management of local affairs by local officials. Of

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the chief Acts passed during the last half century, the Metropolitan Local Management Act, 1855, the Elementary Education Act of 1870, the Municipal Corporation Act of 1882, and the Parish and District Councils Act of 1894 emanated from Liberal Governments, and the Conservatives were responsible for the Public Health Act of 1875, the formation of County Councils in 1888, the Public Health (London) Act of 1891, and the Local Government of Ireland Act of 1898. (For the chief provisions of these Acts see book i. chap. v.)

Although a favourite electioneering cry of the Radicals is Home Rule all round, it so happens that the Conservatives have actually passed more measures in that direction.

The latest Act of 1899 establishing Municipalities in London, emanated from the Conservative party, and was supported vigorously by the whole Cabinet in the early months of 1898, and was as strenuously opposed by the Radicals, who apparently feared the powers of the County Council were to be curtailed, but why they were so anxious for the welfare of that body it is difficult to understand. Whatever may be said for and against the measure, it is impossible to discover on what question of principle the one party supported and the other opposed it.

(*d*) Capital and Labour.

We are told by those authorities on industrial democracy, Mr and Mrs Sydney Webb, that, "the organised Trade Unions, with their hundreds of thousands of electors, exercise to-day practically no appreciable influence on the House of

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Commons."[1] Nevertheless, the legislation relating to the question of industry and the relationship between employer and workman has been very great, and has emanated from both parties, Acts relating to the relationship of masters and servants having been passed at intervals since the middle of the eighteenth century. The most important are the following:

An Act to prohibit payment in certain trades of wages in goods or otherwise than in the current coin of the realm, was passed in 1831 by Earl Grey's Government, and the principle of that Act was extended to the employees of hosiery manufacturers by the Act of 1874, when the Conservatives were in power. Acts regulating the general management, hours of labour and sanitation, and providing for the security and welfare of the employees have been passed under the title of Factory and Workshops Acts, at intervals of a few years since 1867, both by Conservative and Liberal Governments. The Act of 1871, passed by Mr Gladstone's Government, declares that the purposes of any Trade Union are not unlawful, but states that no court of law can enforce or recover damages for breach of contracts entered into between members and unions, or between the unions themselves, regarding their subscription, benefits, or rules for transacting business, although such contracts are not themselves unlawful.

Many Acts have also been passed regulating the registration and working of Benefit and Friendly Societies. In 1880 the Employers Liabilities Act enforced the employers to give compensation for personal injuries received by the workmen, and

[1] "Industrial Democracy," p. 264.

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the 1898 Act extended and enlarged the scope of its provisions.

Both parties strive to win the votes of the artisans, and are also actuated by similar humane principles, so that the chief danger to be feared is lest legislation should interfere with individual enterprise and industry to such an extent that an insufficient reward will await the careful and industrious, and an insufficient punishment the slovenly and idle.

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CHAPTER VI

PARTY PRACTICE

Section I.—Party Evolution in the Nineteenth Century[1]

At the opening of the century the parties consisted of the Tories led by Pitt, the Whigs led by Fox, and the independent country gentlemen returned by close boroughs who were not closely bound to either party, but voted either way on the great questions which arose.

The King, Pitt, Canning, Castlereagh, and Dundas were chiefly instrumental in passing the Act of Union with Ireland, and Sheridan, Grey, and Grattan opposed it, while Fox remained absent from the House of Commons.

Napoleon's overtures for peace were refused by Pitt on the ground that the proposal ought to have been addressed to the allies as well as to England, and Fox attacked the Government for continuing the war, but the House of Commons supported it by 265 to 64 votes.

On the first day of the Imperial Parliament the Cabinet was divided on the Catholic Question, Portland, Liverpool, and Chatham opposing, while the King was strongly prejudiced against the Catholic claims by Lord Loughborough. Pitt therefore re-

[1] The diagram at the end of this section should be consulted during the reading of it.

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signed and was succeeded by Addington whose Government he supported, until he found the budget calculations were wrong, and the pretensions of Bonaparte had become absolutely inadmissible, when he was persuaded by Grenville to accept the office of Premier, but refused to admit Fox into the Ministry. At this time the Tory Government was supported by majorities of four or five to one.

Pitt's new Cabinet consisted of twelve members, but only one other, Castlereagh, was in the House of Commons. Sheridan also supported him, but over the reorganisation of the army bill Fox and Addington combined against him, and he narrowly escaped defeat. The latter soon rejoined Pitt, who, with the help of Canning, Fox, and Sheridan, then attempted to suppress the slave trade, but in spite of this weight of authority he could not get a majority in the Commons. During this year, 1805, the Catholics, who had understood that it was impossible at once to obtain emancipation after the Act of Union, petitioned Pitt, and were supported by Grenville, Fox, and Grattan. Pitt answered that when he gave up the idea of emancipation, "circumstances rendered it at that period impossible to bring forward the measure in the way in which he then hoped it might be practicable to bring it forward, in the only way in which it ought at any time to be brought forward,"[1] and everyone knew this referred to the King's refusal to entertain the question. The Whigs next opposed the grant of 3½ millions for foreign subsidies on the ground that no money should be given without information, and

[1] "Life of Pitt," Lord Stanhope, vol. iv. p. 302.

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bitterly attacked Pitt after the disasters of Austerlitz and Ulm.

In 1806, after the death of Pitt, the King sent for Lord Hawkesbury, who declined to form a Government, and Grenville and Fox came into power with Addington and Lord Ellenborough; but soon after Fox died and the Ministry attempted to introduce a Bill which enabled Catholics to serve in the army and navy, and removed some other of their disabilities. The King, however, would only agree to make the law correspond in England and Ireland, and the Cabinet withdrew the Bill, but reserved the right of avowing their sympathy with the Catholic claims. The King thereupon demanded that they should promise in writing not to discuss this question in the Cabinet at all, and when the Ministers refused to do this he dismissed them.

The Duke of Portland succeeded with Canning at the Foreign Office, but two years later, the latter, being dissatisfied with the administration of Castlereagh at the War Office during the Walcheren expedition, complained to the Prime Minister that a change must be made either in his own department or in that of Castlereagh. This led to the Duke's retirement, and Perceval succeeded with Lord Wellesley at the Foreign Office.

In 1810 George III. became permanently insane, and the Tories, following the precedent of Pitt, appointed the Prince of Wales Regent with certain restrictions which were to lapse in a year's time. The Whigs, on the other hand, wished to ask the heir apparent to assume the full regal powers at once, and were defeated by only 24 votes.

In 1812 Perceval was assassinated, and Lord

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Wellesley attempted to form a Government with Lords Grey and Grenville and Mr Canning with the object of an immediate consideration of the Catholic claims and the prosecution of the war in the Peninsula. But one of the Whig principles during the reign of the Georges was never to serve under a Minister who had not been chosen by the Whig party, and acting upon this, they refused to join Wellesley.[1]

The Regent then adopted the unprecedented course of commanding his servants to elect the Prime Minister, and they chose Lord Liverpool. At this time Liverpool, Eldon, and Peel were opposed to Catholic Emancipation, and Canning, Grattan, and Palmerston were in favour of it.

On the three great questions of this period, the restoration of order on the Continent, the Catholic claims, and Free Trade, the parties were curiously divided. After the settlement of 1815, the Tories, Liverpool, Wellington, Eldon, and Castlereagh, were in favour of absolute Monarchies and Protection, and were opposed to Catholic Emancipation. Canning, Huskisson and Palmerston, on the other hand, were in favour of Constitutional Governments, Free Trade, and concessions to the Catholics, while the Grenville clique also had liberal ideas. The artificial trade, begotten by the war, having ceased, a period of great depression ensued, and Castlereagh and Sidmouth suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, and passed the six Acts for suppressing sedition, but did not attempt to alter the Fiscal Laws.

In 1820 George IV. ascended the throne, and at once attempted to divorce Queen Caroline, chiefly

[1] "Canning and His Times," p. 207.

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because he wished for an heir. Canning left the country so as not to be mixed up in the case, and Peel refused a post in the Cabinet so that he could have a free hand in the debates; and although he opposed the vote of censure on the Government, did not express approval of the action of the Ministry. The Divorce Bill was only carried by nine in the House of Lords, and, yielding to the opposition in the country, the Government dropped it.

The King, therefore, took a violent dislike to Canning, and wished to send him as Governor-General to India, but he refused, and on the death of Castlereagh returned to the Foreign Office. The probable reason why Canning refused office between 1820 and 1822 was because his ideas made it impossible for him to work with the Tories, and share the responsibility of their measures, and so he did not return until the death of the principal power in the Cabinet.[1] The Duke of Wellington, although objecting to "revolution," used his influence with the King to restore him, because he thought "the King's Government could not be carried on without him."

But Canning's advocacy of the independence of the Spanish Colonies, and Huskisson's liberal policy in regard to trade and navigation, were very distasteful to the old Tories, and although Canning joined them in suppressing the Catholic Association in Ireland, he was actively in favour of Catholic Emancipation. Nevertheless, his opposition to Reform enabled him still to maintain his in-

[1] Stapleton: "Some Official Correspondence of George Canning," vol. i. p. 12.

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fluence over Liverpool, Wellington, Eldon and Peel, and the King, who was very anxious that the Greek question should be speedily settled.

In 1825 the Commons were strongly in favour of Emancipation, but the Press and the country feared priestcraft and the Holy Alliance, and were prejudiced in favour of Protestant liberty and of hostility to Papal guidance. The Duke of York then made a solemn declaration against it and Liverpool, Wellington, and Peel strongly opposed it. At the General Election, Palmerston appealed to the Whigs at Cambridge to support him, because the Anti-Catholic Tories had formed a cabal against him, and afterwards wrote "This was the first decided step towards a breach between me and the Tories, and they were the aggressors."[1] During the next year the Whigs supported Canning's Corn Bill, and defeated the agriculturists and Anti-Liberals by three to one, so that the only link left between the Canningites and the Tories was their opposition to democratic government, and when Canning was ordered to form a Government the Tories, Wellington, Peel, Eldon, and Bathurst retired, but the Whigs promised him their support, and Lyndhurst, Lansdowne, Dudley, and Lamb joined his Cabinet.

At this time the Canningites and the Whigs combined could outvote the Tories in the House of Commons, and after the death of Canning, Goderich carried on the Government with the aid of the Whigs, but soon retired because of a quarrel between Huskisson and Herries. The Duke of Wellington was next ordered to form a Ministry.

[1] "Life of Palmerston," Ashley, vol. i. 92.

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At first the Canningites remained in the Cabinet on the condition that the Catholic question should remain open and the Greek treaty should be fulfilled and Eldon and Westmoreland were excluded, but after a few months they all retired, because of a difference with the Duke over the question of extended franchise, and the transference of the rotten boroughs, Penrhyn and Retford. From this time the Canningites may be regarded as having left the Tories and joined the Whigs.

At the Clare election, O'Connell disregarded the law against Catholics and stood for Parliament, and the contest resolved itself into a struggle between the Government and landlords on the one hand and O'Connell and the priests on the other, but was carried on without a sign of rioting, and resulted in a victory for the great agitator. Lord Anglesey (the Viceroy) and the Irish authorities then clearly stated that if the Catholic claims were still resisted there would be a revolution, and Peel, followed by Wellington, at length realised that further resistance was useless, and in March 1829 gave notice that he would call attention to the subject of the removal of Catholic disabilities, but George IV. said he would have no alteration in the Oath of Supremacy and the Ministers resigned only to come back again when the King failed to find another Government, and so the Emancipation Bill passed.

But Peel's party became at once unpopular with the Tories, and did not conciliate the Whigs while O'Connell and the Irish formed a fourth party in the House.

In 1830 George IV. died, and Wellington made overtures to Melbourne to join the Government,

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but he refused to do so without Huskisson and Grey, the latter of whom was personally distasteful to the Duke.

Palmerston then declared that he was in favour of Reform and the Whigs defeated the Government on the estimates, and Grey came into power with Russell, Palmerston, and Melbourne.

Russell's Reform Bill placed great power in the hands of the middle classes, and was strongly resisted by Peel and the Tories, but nevertheless passed the Commons by 106 only to be thrown out by the Lords. This action of the Upper House produced riots all over the country, but the Lords were eventually persuaded by Wellington to accept the Bill, after the King consented to create new Peers if the opposition was still maintained.

Lord Mahon gives the following figures showing the composition of the House of Commons in 1833: Conservatives, 150; Whigs or Ministerialists, 320; Repealers from Ireland, Radicals and Members of Political Unions, 190.[1]

In the next year Grey and Althorp retired over the Coercion Bill for Ireland, and Melbourne came in for a few months, and was then replaced by Peel, who was supported by Stanley, although he would not join him, but the Government was repeatedly defeated by a coalescence of Radicals and Whigs.

In 1835 Melbourne returned to power, and Peel, Wellington, and Stanley carefully avoided acting with the Radicals to censure the Whigs over their Canadian policy, and Peel even supported Russell in resisting a Radical amendment to the address

[1] "Peel Papers," J. S. Parker, vol. ii. p. 209.

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suggesting further reform. In 1839 the motion against the Corn Laws was defeated by 147, 70 Whigs voting with the Conservatives, but the Government was defeated on the Bill for suspending the Jamaica Constitution.

The Queen first sent for the Duke of Wellington and then for Peel, who refused to form a Government unless certain Whig ladies were removed from Court. This the Queen refused to do, and said, "The Tories do all in their power to make themselves odious to me," [1] and Melbourne came back to power.

In the next year the Government were defeated on the vote for the allowance to the Prince Consort, and Peel soon after again became Prime Minister, with a Conservative majority of 91 in the Commons. The agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws now became urgent, and the Whigs opposed the Sliding Scale, while the Whigs, Radicals, and Cobdenites opposed the Income Tax Bill, which was nevertheless passed.

The Free Traders, led by Cobden, Bright, and Hume, in 1843 endeavoured to obstruct the Government by repeated motions of adjournment, and O'Connell tried to raise the question of Repeal of the Union, but was supported by only about a dozen Repealers. Peel at this time placed Catholics in responsible Government positions in Ireland, and admitted priests to the Board of Charitable Requests, thus alienating the religious element from the repeal agitation and silencing O'Connell, who dropped repeal and urged federalism instead. This new move was met by a series of newspaper articles by Butt, who afterwards became the Irish leader.

[1] "Peel Papers," J. S. Parker, vol. ii. p. 485.

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In 1845 the Dissenters and Low Church party opposed the Maynouth Grant, but Palmerston supported it. The country party during this year withdrew their support from the suggested repeal of the Corn Laws.

Stanley seceded from Peel, but Wellington, although differing from him, decided to support the measure, and Graham and the rest of the Government remained loyal. Disraeli and Bentinck vigorously opposed it, and on the second reading of the bill in the Commons the numbers were :—Ayes —Ministerialists, 112; Whigs and Radicals, 227. Noes—Protectionist-Conservatives, 231; Whig Protectionists, 11.

In the following year the Protectionists joined with the Whigs and Cobdenites and overthrew Peel, and Russell then made overtures to Lord Dalhousie, Lord Lincoln, and Sydney Herbert to join his Cabinet, but they all refused, and a pure Whig Government was formed.

From 1847-1874 there was a Liberal majority in the House of Commons, but during the Chartist agitation the Government was supported by all parties except a few extreme Radicals, led by the agitator, O'Connor. At this period we recognise several distinct parties — the old or Protectionist Tories, led by Stanley and Disraeli; the Peelites, or Free Trade Conservatives; the Palmerstonian Whigs and Ministerialists; the Manchester School, led by Cobden and Bright; the Radicals, in favour of the Charter, and the Irish Repealers of the Union.

In 1851 Russell was defeated on the extension of the franchise, but Stanley failed to form a Govern-

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ment, and after attempting to coalesce with the Peelites, the Whigs returned to power, but the year after Palmerston had been dismissed from the Foreign Office, he joined with the Opposition and turned out Russell.

Lord Derby then formed a Protectionist Ministry, which, however, did not last long, and at the General Election in 1852, Disraeli renounced Protection, and it ceased from that date to be a principle of practical politics. But the new Government soon fell, and Aberdeen formed a coalition Ministry of Whigs and Peelites, with Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Palmerston, Home Secretary, Russell, Foreign Secretary, and Sydney Herbert, Colonial Secretary.

At this time the dissensions inside the Cabinet were very marked, and Aberdeen appears to have trusted the Czar more than he listened to the warnings of Russell and Palmerston. The ill success of the Crimean War, and the gross mismanagement of the transport and commissariat, disappointed and disgusted the country, and Mr Roebuck having moved in the Commons for a Commission to enquire into the affairs of the war, Russell resigned, and the Government soon fell. After Derby and Russell had failed to form a Ministry, Palmerston was sent for, and Graham, Gladstone, and Herbert consented to join on the condition that Roebuck's motion should be resisted, but the Prime Minister saw that resistance was hopeless, and the Peelites, standing to their bargain, resigned. But Palmerston's foreign policy alienated from him many Liberals, and provoked the most active opposition from the Manchester School, and

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in 1857 he was censured by a combination of Conservatives, Peelites, Cobdenites, Russellites, and Radicals, the division showing, 263—247. Nevertheless, his China policy was approved by the country, and an increased number of his followers were returned at the general election. In the following year he was again defeated by the same combination of parties, and Derby succeeded, with a minority in the Commons, but was dismissed in the following year by a vote of want of confidence, moved by the Marquis of Hartington, and Palmerston returned to power.

About this time the Conservatives became alarmed at the radical Budgets of Gladstone, while the Radicals agitated for reform and wished to combine with the former to turn out the Liberal Government, but the Conservatives would not agree to the plan. The Irish also had to be reckoned with, and in 1861, a priest, Father Galway, threatened the Prime Minister that the whole party would vote against him on the Budget because he had removed a subsidy of a mail packet plying between Galway and the United States. But Palmerston told the story of the threat to the House, and the Irish members, fearing to appear as the puppets of a priest, refrained from opposing him. The Manchester School next opposed the Ministerial schemes for the fortification of the south coast, but the country undoubtedly supported Palmerston both in his Italian policy and in his measures for home defence. After his death, Russell carried on the Government for a few months, but Gladstone's Reform Bill was defeated by the Conservatives and some Liberals after being cut to pieces by Lowe and Disraeli, but when Derby came into power,

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Disraeli at once introduced a Reform Bill as radical as the one he had defeated, and many Conservatives, including Lord Salisbury, vigorously opposed it. This caused another schism in the Conservative ranks, but Disraeli, who was now, for the third time, leader of the Commons with a minority at his back, persevered with the measure and passed it with the aid of the Liberals and Radicals. After being Prime Minister for a few months, in 1868 he was turned out by Gladstone's resolution on the Irish Church, and at the first election after the new franchise the Radicals were returned with a majority of 128.

Gladstone formed a Ministry with Clarendon, Granville, and Lowe, and proceeded to disestablish the Irish Church, and to alter the Irish Land Law, both of which measures were stoutly resisted by the Conservatives, but the Education Bill of 1870 was approved by all parties, while the abolition of the purchase system in the army by Royal Prerogative was strongly protested against by the Conservatives, and Sir Charles Dilke's motion to enquire into the manner the Royal allowances were spent was absolutely shouted down in the Commons by all, proving that the modern Radicals are as much devoted to the Monarchy as any other party.

In 1874 there were 349 Conservatives, 247 Liberals, and 56 Irish Nationalists returned, and this was the first Conservative majority over all other parties combined for twenty-seven years. The domestic legislation of Disraeli was not of a highly controversial description and excepting the Church Discipline Act of 1874, which was strongly opposed by Gladstone, was not combated on party

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lines. The foreign policy has been described in another place and the results of the Zulu War, combined with bad harvests, caused the Conservatives to lose 116 seats at the General Election of 1880 and Gladstone returned to power. At this time there was the greatest distress in Ireland and the outrages, organised by the Fenians led by Tynan, were on a greater scale and more frequent than ever before during the century. The Nationalist members numbered 62, but the Liberals could still command a majority of 58 over them and the Conservatives combined.

A Coercion Bill for Ireland was at once passed, and during the debates 23 Irish members were expelled from Parliament. This was followed by a Land Act for Ireland, which was, however, altered considerably by the House of Lords, and in the following year the lamentable murders of Cavendish and Burke caused the Government to bring in a Crimes Act of the greatest rigour.

There is no proof that Parnell and the Irish party were connected with the organised outrages and agrarian crimes, and Tynan distinctly states in his work on the Irish Republican Brotherhood that that society was formed, because the more ardent patriots were dissatisfied with the slow constitutional methods adopted by their parliamentary representatives. The confession of Pigott during the Parnell Commission in 1888, that his letters incriminating the Irish leader which were published in the *Times* were forgeries, removed the grave suspicion with which the party was regarded and caused a slight reaction in their favour.

In 1884 Gladstone introduced a Reform Bill, but

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the Lords refused to consider it unless it was accompanied by a measure for Redistribution of Seats. But the Prime Minister, with Lord Hartington and Sir Charles Dilke, effected a compromise with Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote, and a liberal measure was passed.

The Government, however, became very unpopular in the country, chiefly owing to the murder of Gordon at Khartoum, and were defeated on an amendment to the Budget, when Lord Salisbury came into power. In order to propitiate the Parnellites and to restore confidence and prosperity in Ireland, the Crimes Act was abandoned and a Land Purchase Act promised, which would enable the State to advance to the tenants the purchase money for their holdings on the security of the land itself.

At the General Election of 1885 both parties bid for the Parnellite vote, and Gladstone appealed for a majority great enough to overpower the other parties combined, but confined himself to promising Local Government, Land Transfer and Reform of Parliamentary Procedure while Mr Chamberlain advocated three acres and a cow, and extensive Local Government for Ireland.

The result of the election was the return of 333 Gladstonites, 251 Conservatives and 86 Parnellites. Mr Gladstone then hinted through the medium of the Press, that he was favourably disposed towards Home Rule, and the Irish Party united with him to overthrow Lord Salisbury.

Without entering into the question of the sudden conversion of Mr Gladstone and its connection with the result of the election, it is interesting to pause and consider whether Home Rule for Ireland can be

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regarded as consistent with Liberal principles. In the middle of the last century the Whigs were in favour of the independence of the American Colonies, but both Burke and Pitt wished to deal liberally with Ireland as regarded commercial restrictions. The Whigs opposed the Act of Union, but that can be accounted for by the fact that they were in Opposition at the time. Canning was in favour of the independence of the Spanish Colonies, and Palmerston sympathised with the Hungarian desire for Home Rule. But Ireland is too close at hand to be safely governed as a colony, and if Home Rule is to mean merely a glorified form of Local Government with members sitting in the Imperial Parliament, then it would fall within the principles acted upon by the Conservatives during the last thirty years.

Immediately after the introduction of Mr Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill, Lord Hartington, Mr Chamberlain, and many of the most influential Liberal members seceded and formed a new party, the Liberal Unionists, and after the defeat of the Government the country was again consulted. It will perhaps elucidate the practical working of politics to give here, before proceeding, a table showing the balance of parties since 1880.

Year.	Conservatives.	Liberals.	Nationalists.
1880.	233	357	62
1885.	247	331	82

Year.	Conservatives.	Liberal Unionists.	Liberal Home Rulers.	Nationalists.
1886.	314	81	188	84
1892.	268	47	273	81
1895.	340	71	177	82

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In 1886 Lord Salisbury had thus a large majority and formed a Ministry, with Lord Iddesleigh at the Foreign Office, Lord Randolph Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and leader of the Commons, and Mr Matthews at the Home Office.

The Conservatives then expressed their willingness to adopt the Land Purchase Scheme for Ireland, provided that the State refunded some of the loss to the landlords. At this time the Irish Plan of Campaign consisted in the tenants offering what they thought they could afford towards the rent, and if this was refused they deposited it in the hands of trustees, who were empowered to spend it in resisting evictions. The Government endeavoured to stop this by actions at law, but, at the same time, put pressure on the landlords to cause them to take less rent. In 1887 Lord Salisbury took the Foreign Office himself, Mr Goschen became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr W. H. Smith First Lord of the Treasury and leader of the Commons, and Mr A. J. Balfour Irish Secretary.

Mr Balfour then introduced the Crimes Act for Ireland, and passed it by means of the closure, a new rule which enables the House to close a debate at any time by a simple majority, and the Irish members, finding their chief weapon, obstruction, taken from them, left the House in a body. In the following year Mr Ritchie brought in a Bill for creating County Councils, and two years afterwards Mr W. H. Smith instituted the Board of Agriculture, and Mr Balfour announced the intention of the Government to establish County Councils in Ireland. In the following year he became leader of the Commons.

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The General Election of 1892 was fought on the question of Home Rule, but the Liberals gained many votes by promising support to an eight-hours' day, and Mr Gladstone returned to power. At this time Lord Salisbury's views may be briefly summed up as follows: (1) that we should remain in Egypt in order to make her strong enough to resist all foreign aggression, and to maintain internal discipline, but we should not endeavour to sever her connection with Turkey; (2) that the representation of the people ought to be reorganised, since Ireland, Scotland, and Wales are over-represented; (3) that Established Churches being under control, are less liable than others to ecclesiastical domination in secular affairs; (4) that Allotments, by establishing a small proprietary, constitute the strongest bulwark against revolutionary change.

His chief arguments against Home Rule are that Ireland would be a clerical State under the government of priests; that she would institute Protection against England if she could, and that the taxing of a prosperous minority by the majority would be most unjust.

The Home Rule Bill was forced through the House of Commons with the aid of the closure, but was at once thrown out by the Lords, and shortly afterwards Lord Rosebery succeeded Mr Gladstone, but the new Government only lasted for about eighteen months, and fell on a question relating to ordnance.

At the General Election of 1895 the chief questions were Disestablishment of the Welsh Church, Local Veto, and reform of the House of Lords, and the polling gave a larger majority to the

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Conservatives than either party have enjoyed since the first Reform Parliament in 1833.

During their whole history the Liberals have shown sympathy with Nonconformists, and the Welsh Dissenters have joined with them in the hope of obtaining Disestablishment. Now, anyone who knows the Welsh must admit they are most conservative in their instincts, patriotic almost to the point of absurdity, extremely loyal, and the most thrifty and contented people in the kingdom.

The Scotch, on the other hand, are actuated by strong commercial liberal instincts, but object to a State religion, so that two peoples of essentially opposite characteristics feel as one on this particular question. But although the old Tories were undoubtedly in sympathy with Jacobitism and Roman Catholicism, and the Whigs favoured the Dissenters, the modern Conservative is just as opposed to illegal practices in the Church as is the Liberal, and has quite as much toleration for dissenting bodies.

As we have shown above, the greatest statesmen of the reign have held various views on religion which could not be reconciled with those of the majority of the party who followed them, but among the people who do not think, probably the majority of the Roman Catholics and Ritualists are Conservatives, and the Dissenters and Evangelists are Liberals.

If the reform of the House of Lords is intended to strengthen and increase its power, it should logically be a Conservative measure.[1] If to weaken and decrease its power it is obviously a

[1] In an amendment to the address in 1899, Lord Hugh Cecil proposed to add Nonconformist Divines to the House of Lords.

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democratic measure, and theoretically belongs to the Radicals.

The other measures have nothing to do with party principles at all. The Local Veto will be resisted by all the brewers and publicans whatever may be their party. Old Age Pensions are advocated by both parties; Municipal Bills are not connected with the principles of either, and the Vaccination Bill is but an example of ignorant fanaticism triumphing over reason.

The Conservatives have good cause to complain of the present weakness of the Liberal party, because a strong Opposition is necessary for several reasons:

1. It causes the Government party to work unanimously, and prevents secessions on minor bills.

2. It ensures that legislative measures will be thoroughly debated, clause for clause.

3. It stimulates Ministers to exert themselves to the utmost to avoid errors in action.

But although the leaders of the Conservatives are perfectly sincere in regretting the collapse of the Liberals, and although throughout parliamentary history two great parties have always existed, it is very difficult to foresee what principles the new Liberals will adopt, or what measures they will advocate.

The Duke of Devonshire seceded on the Home Rule question, and finds the modern Conservatives pass far more Liberal measures than did his ancestral Whigs. Mr Chamberlain seceded on the same question, and finds the Conservatives pass measures almost as radical as the most cherished visions of his youth. Lord Rosebery resigned the leadership of the Radicals because his foreign policy was identical with that of Lord Salisbury; Sir William

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Harcourt, because the party was split up into sections and wanted another leader; and Mr Morley refused it because he finds that the party cannot be controlled on any philosophical basis.

On the formation of the New Government in 1895, Lord Salisbury retained the offices of Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary; Mr Balfour became First Lord and leader of the Commons; Sir Matthew White Ridley took the Home Office; Sir Michael Hicks Beach the Exchequer, and Mr Chamberlain the Colonial Office.

The general policy of the Government has been Imperialistic abroad and extension of Local Government at home with reform of Education.

In 1899, the principles of the Radical party suddenly changed and they no longer wish to evacuate Egypt, and refuse to regard Home Rule as the first measure on their programme, but still wish to reform the House of Lords and to stop the increase of armaments.

The above short sketch will elucidate the general lines on which the parties have developed during the century and the whole can be represented as a genealogical tree. The Tories first split into Peelites and Canningites, and the former next divided in 1829 into those in favour of Catholic Emancipation and those opposed to it; the Catholic Peelites, Canningites, Whigs, and Irish then combining to relieve the Catholics. In 1832 the two sections of the Peelites combined again to oppose the Reform Bill, but it was passed by a combination of Canningites—who may now be regarded as Liberals—Radicals, and Irish. The next split in the Conservative party occurred in 1846 when it

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was divided into Protectionists and Free Traders, and the Repeal of the Corn Laws was passed by a combination of Conservative Free Traders, Radicals, and Irish, who at this time agitated for a repeal of the Union. The Conservatives soon dropped protection altogether, but split over Disraeli's Reform Bill of 1867 which was passed by a combination of Disraelites, Gladstonian Liberals and Radicals, and Irish Nationalists. The Conservatives again united, and the Gladstonians divided in 1886 into Liberal Unionists, who joined with the Conservatives to maintain the Act of Union, and Radicals who joined with the Irish to form the Home Rule party.

This is practically the condition of the parties to-day; but the Liberal Unionists show no sign of leaving the Conservative camp, the Radicals are split into many minor subdivisions and the Irish are quiescent.

Section II.—The two party system

The chief argument in favour of the two party system is that throughout the history of parliamentary government in all countries, there is a strong tendency for politicians to divide into two main great parties which may or may not be subdivided into many cliques. It is true the idea is not philosophical, but nothing in practical life can or ever will approach philosophical ideals. Any attempts to break down the party system have always failed, and although the founders of the American Constitution exerted their ingenuity to the utmost to ensure that the President at least should not be elected on party lines, it was all

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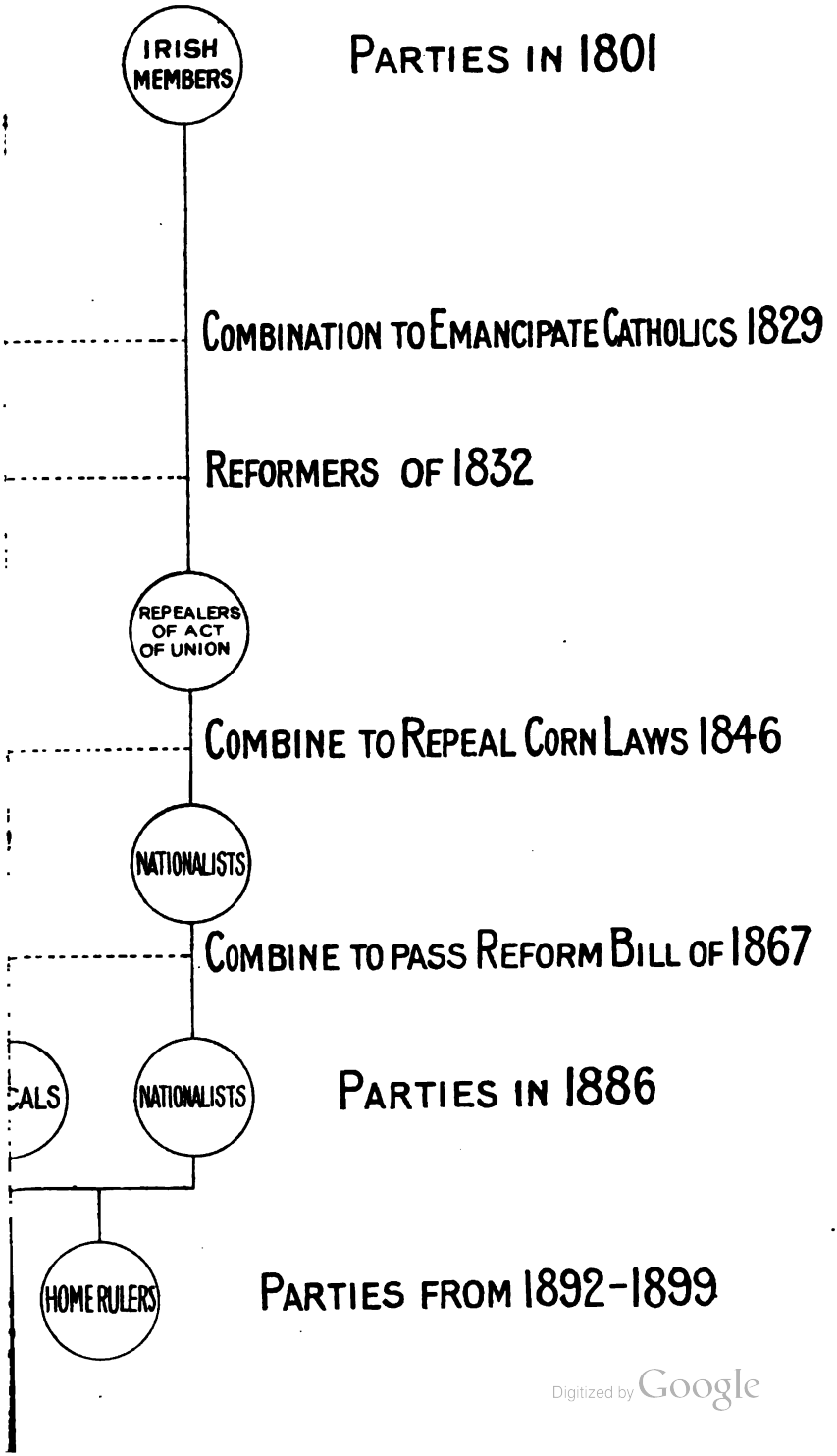

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to no purpose and at once the two parties proposed rival candidates.[1]

In a country without monarchy, aristocracy, or landed gentry, where social position is entirely dependent upon wealth acquired for the most part in speculation or commerce, with no Established Church and no centuries-old customs and prejudices, one would have been justified in predicting that no two great parties could possibly arise, and that every question would be considered entirely from an independent standpoint. Yet we know that the Republicans and Democrats form as distinct parties as do our Conservatives and Liberals, that the system of elections is carried out on strictly party lines, that the bribery and corruption is as great as that in England in the pre-Reform days, and that the ridiculous custom of changing the subordinate officials at each presidential election is still practised. In France the House of Deputies is divided practically at present into six main groups, the Anti-Republicans or Right, Rallies who were formerly Anti but have become Republicans, Liberals who constitute the Left Centre and are the survivors of doctrinaires, Opportunists whose chief purpose it is to secure office, and Radicals and Socialists.[2]

The result is a minimum amount of legislation and a maximum number of changes of Ministers. In England not only parliamentary but municipal elections also are carried out on purely party lines, and we frequently see placarded up "Vote for X the Moderate and Unionist Candidate for the Vestry." Now, although it is satisfactory to know that X is

[1] Bryce: "American Commonwealth," vol. i. p. 39.
[2] J. E. C. Bodley: France.

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moderate—presumably in his ideas of spending other people's money—no one can be so stupid as to imagine that because a man supports the maintenance of the Union of England and Ireland he is necessarily a better administrator of baths and washhouses, or of the laws for the prevention and abating of nuisances. At the first election of the London County Council it was agreed to contest the seats on principles of general local policy, but it was speedily discovered that the election was fought on purely party lines by the Radicals who used their political organisations for the purpose, and this practice has since been adopted by the Conservatives also. It is true the terms progressive and moderate are usually chosen to represent the opinions of the rival candidates, but that does not alter the fact of the strict party division which exists, and even the School Board votes are now also determined on party lines.

The reasons for this are as follows :—

1. Most people style themselves either Conservatives or Liberals for reasons which will be discussed later, but have no real knowledge of politics, and take no active interest in either Imperial or Local Government. Periodically they receive notices to vote for Parliamentary, County Council, School Board, and Vestry candidates, and, unless some question of special interest has aroused their attention, they vote for the Unionist and Moderate candidates if Conservatives, and if Radicals, for the Separatist and Progressive candidates.

2. The members of County Councils and Municipal Corporations are in many cases active members of the Political Associations, whose duty it is—as we

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have mentioned above (Bk. ii. chap. iv.)—to choose and canvass for the candidates they desire to represent them in the House of Commons, and in this way they become acquainted with political principles, and associate themselves with one or other party.

Section III.—The Political Associations

The local Political Associations are united into two great bodies, the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations and the National Liberal Federation. No balance sheets are issued, but the funds of these bodies are enormous, and are supplied by interested and disinterested persons who wish to further one of the political causes. Their duties are (1) to provide suitable candidates for Parliament; (2) to organise meetings at which the political leaders are invited to speak; (3) to discuss questions which, although not yet ripe for introduction into Parliament, are in their preparatory form; (4) to feel the pulse of the country and to ascertain the probable reception of any proposed measure.

For instance, on November 30th, 1898, the 32nd Annual Conference of the National Union of Conservatives was held at Bristol, and many questions were discussed and resolutions carried. The chief resolutions were "that, in the opinion of this meeting, the gross inequality of representation in the Commons House of Parliament demands the attention of the Government"; that means should be taken to relieve the excessive burden of local taxation borne by the clergy, and to dispose to the Local Authorities the Land Tax in parishes com-

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prising any Poor Law Union; and that the Imperial power in Africa should be consolidated by the construction of State-guaranteed railways.

We thus see that the Political Associations act as advisers to the Government on constitutional and foreign as well as on local questions. But the latest function, adopted by the Liberal Association, seems to be to attempt to dictate who shall be the leader of the party.

Sir William Harcourt retired from the position of leader of the Liberal Party on December 14th, 1898, and if he had not done so, the members of the National Liberal Association intended, at a meeting held two days afterwards, to bring in a resolution on the leadership. Mr Asquith, speaking on the same day, stated "that the decision as to the leadership of the Liberal Party lies clearly outside the mandate of the National Liberal Federation."[1]

We must remember that the leader of the party is always sent for by the Queen to form the Ministry when that party comes to power, so we have virtually arrived at the stage of democratic development when the Political Associations outside Parliament propose to choose the Prime Minister. The political evolution of the century is thus as follows: at the beginning of it the King chose the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, could ensure the passing or rejection of any bill, and to a great extent controlled foreign policy; in the middle of it, the House of Commons chose its leader, and thus the Prime Minister, passed or rejected what bill it wished, and to a great extent controlled the foreign policy;

[1] The *Times*, December 17th, 1898.

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at the end of it the Political Associations apparently wish to choose the Prime Minister, attempt to dictate what measures they please, and suggest the lines of foreign policy.

Although no one would wish that power to check progress should return to another George III., or indeed to any one individual, however worthy, yet we cannot view without misgiving the attempt to drag down the centre of gravity of the Constitution from the House of Commons to the Political Associations, who should be content with the influence they wield on the composition of the House, and not interfere with the performance of its duties.

Section IV.—Party Politics and Foreign Policy

Every person, whether a Member of Parliament, a writer for the Press, or a private individual, obviously has a perfect right to criticise the actions or speeches of Ministers in relation to the foreign policy of the Government, and we only intend here to examine how far this is really due to individual conviction, and how far to a desire to embarrass the Ministers simply because they belong to the opposite party. "The earliest example of a question to Ministers is to be found on February 9th, 1791, when Lord Cowper asked a question of the Administration, and was answered by the Earl of Sunderland." [1]

A few years before Burke had brought in a motion, "humbly to express to His Majesty, that it is the privilege and duty of the House to guard the Constitution from all infringement on the part

[1] "Parliamentary Practice," Erskine May, p. 354.

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of Ministers; and whenever the occasion requires it, to warn them against any abuse of the authorities committed to them." [1]

Although, as we have shown above, the foreign policy of either party depends far more upon the individual characteristics of the Foreign Secretary than upon any general party principle, yet we constantly have the most bitter debates on foreign affairs, when members, as a rule belonging to the Opposition, are most persistent with their motions and questions, which are generally worded with the idea of expressing disapproval of the course adopted.

Sometimes these criticisms are undoubtedly prompted by honest conviction, and at other times are mere party moves.

Although, it is undoubtedly true that the uncultured and untravelled individual has usually an exaggerated idea of the merits and importance of his own country, yet there can be no doubt that the Englishman who travels with the object of studying political institutions comes home with a strong conviction that his own are the best. The heathen Chinee imagines that all other races are barbarians, and is at the same time the most conservative of individuals, but the American citizen, however democratic he may profess to be, is equally convinced of the paramount superiority of his nation. Yet, although it is impossible to deny the feeling of patriotism to either party, there is no doubt that the Liberals have shown less of that spirit than the Conservatives. During the American War of Independence Fox and the Whigs openly rejoiced at the reverses of England, and in the war against France cavilled at Wellesley and eulogised Napoleon. In

[1] Motion relative to speech from the Throne, June 1784.

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all probability they spoke in all sincerity, for it was absolutely impossible that their party could, at that time, come into power.

To genuine conviction again we must attribute the action of the Manchester party in advocating peace long after the Crimean War was rendered inevitable by the action of the Czar, and the motion to enquire into the reasons why the transport and commissariat was mismanaged and who were to blame. But, on the other hand, the motion, after the attempt of Orsini on the life of Napoleon, was a purely party measure. To come to recent times, the agitation in favour of those ludicrous schemes for rescuing the Armenians in 1895 and 1896, emanated from the Radicals when the Conservatives were in power, and yet no one would be so foolish as to suppose the former possess a monopoly of humanitarian instincts or are more ardent Christians.

Again, in the Greco-Turkish War of 1897, although we all no doubt felt sympathy for the Greeks, a party of Radical members considered it their particular duty to telegraph to that effect to the Greek Government. With praiseworthy philanthropy, *The Daily Chronicle*, then instituted a British National Fund to supply instruments, four surgeons, and several nurses to attend to the wounded in the war. Yet even the youngest tyro in politics must have known that it was impossible for the Government to support Greece by force of arms, or in any other way to avert the war.

But, although it is perfectly easy to quote hundreds of instances where the Liberal party showed a lack of patriotism, yet, when a grave national issue is at stake party spirit is usually broken down and the whole

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country becomes unanimous. The most excellent example of this we have ever had occurred during the dispute with France over the Fashoda question.

It is obvious that the Opposition in Parliament can only gain their information from the newspapers and none of the members, excepting one or two, have had any experience in conducting foreign affairs, so their criticism is worth no more than that of private individuals.

Herein lies the chief difference between criticising the executive and debating on the clauses of a bill which each one understands because it will directly affect his welfare. The main principles of the Government policy should be stated to the country, but the details must be left to the experts in such subjects. The daily badgering of Ministers is a disgraceful and contemptible proceeding, and if the dignity of the members is not great enough to stop it, rules should be made to disallow it.

Although the question of party as applied to criticism of foreign policy is an extremely difficult one, and although every member should on all occasions state his opinions fearlessly, yet I think we can lay down as good principles.

1. That when the national honour is at stake, all parties should unite to defend it, and if any individual cannot reconcile the proposed action to his principles, he should not endeavour to embarrass the Government by a futile opposition.

2. That the asking of petty questions of detail, either by members of the Opposition, or in some cases even by members of the Government, should be stopped by the House or by the Ministers steadily refusing to answer them.

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3. That any action, in or out of Parliament, which is presumably designed to bring discredit on the foreign policy of the Government in the eyes of other nations, should be discountenanced by both parties.

Section V.—Party Politics and Legislation

Legislation does not depend upon each party, when in power, passing Acts in conformity with any set principles, but on the commands of the country and the exigencies of politics at the particular time. It so happens that the chief measures of this century have not been so much constructive of new laws as destructive of grievances. The Catholic Emancipation Bill, the Reform Bills, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, the Disestablishment of the Irish Church and the measures giving religious toleration to various sects are all of this nature. But although in theory we are governed by the majority the most important of these measures have been passed, chiefly by means of the pressure brought to bear on the Government by a third party. The Tories were in power during the first thirty years of the century because the Georges preferred them, and although from their previous history we should imagine their principles inclined towards emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and although many of their leaders favoured it, they were forced to resist the measure as long as possible by the Crown, while the Whigs, who had always been the most fearful of the Papists, supported the agitation for emancipation. The issue was decided by the Canningites and Irish party, the latter naturally

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joining those who desired to remove their greatest grievance.

The Reform Bill of 1832, although the Press was writing in its favour and the country was violently agitating for it, only passed the Commons by the aid of the Irish party, who had by this time thoroughly dispelled the idea, mooted by the opponents of the Act of Union, that they would increase the power of the Crown by their support and have since showed themselves more democratic than any other section of the community. Indeed, the Irish have so far lost their chief jewel, loyalty to the Crown, that some of the members were afraid to accept the social invitation of the Queen to a garden party at Windsor in the Jubilee year for fear of offending their constituents.

The agitation for the Repeal of the Corn Laws was carried on by men who were at first independent and prepared to support the party which would introduce the measure. Naturally the commercial classes, who would immediately gain by Free Trade, supported the measure, and the landed gentry, who thought they would lose, opposed it. Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel were converted practically at the same time, and Mr Disraeli, who was working hard for the support of the country party, resisted to the last. But as we have shown above, the history of the two parties does not warrant us in connecting the principle of Free Trade with either.

The general demands of the Chartists were only received by the Radicals and the means of bringing them before the country were condemned equally by Liberals and Conservatives, but the idea that the

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Radicals monopolise reform measures was undoubtedly at that time very general and is discovered even now in remote country districts. Nevertheless the extension of the franchise was destined to be carried twenty years afterwards by a Conservative Government with the help of a consenting Opposition.

The Disestablishment of the Irish Church and the Irish Land Act were both forced on the Government by the Irish party, and although the latter might be considered consistent with Liberal principles the former certainly could not. Nevertheless the justice of both measures must have been apparent to all.

The Home Rule Bill was again due to the Irish party and to the extraordinary psychological fact that in the mind of Mr Gladstone the principles of a lifetime atrophied, and were replaced by diametrically opposite ones in the space of six weeks.

Most of the legislation which aimed at the removal of existing grievances in this century has thus been due to the agitation of a third party who worked for one definite object and joined either of the two great parties which was willing to receive and act upon its principles.

On the other hand, all the constructive legislation, such as the formation of local government bodies and central boards for controlling them, education bills, measures for ensuring public health and regulating manufacture and trade have been initiated by either party, without the agitation of a third, as the necessity became apparent.

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Section VI.—Checks on the third party

It is obvious to all that when the representation of the two great parties was nearly equal in the House of Commons, the third party could command the Government to pass any measure on pain of instant dismissal. Further, the third party could so obstruct business that the Government was virtually paralysed. In this way for the theoretical democratic principle of government by majority was substituted, in practice, government by a small minority. But such an anomalous state of things could not last for long and caused the institution of the Closure which at the same time prevents systematic obstruction and destroys the ancient principle of freedom of speech.

Another check on Government by a minority is the House of Lords, but the most important of all is the refusal of politicians to sacrifice their principles for mere party gain.

The country can only note with satisfaction the difference between the politicians who passed the Act of Union with Ireland and those who, eighty-five years afterwards, refused to dissolve it. In the first case, peerages were lavishly promised, and the Irish House of Commons and Press were both heavily bribed. In the latter, a large body of the most influential members of the Liberal party seceded from an old and trusted chief, simply because they were convinced that he was wrong, and not only without the least hope of self-advancement, but with their eyes open to the congested condition of the front rank of the Con-

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servative party, while the Press spoke with one great unanimous and independent voice.

Although, therefore, in theory, a third party can greatly influence, and sometimes control the House of Commons, in practice we need never fear that the two great parties will fail to stand by each other when the very bed rock of the Constitution is assailed.

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CHAPTER VII

THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS

PRE-REFORM DAYS

Section I.—Introductory

The liberty of the Press dates from 1694, when the Statute controlling it expired, but in the early days of the eighteenth century the influence of newspapers on the action of the Government, and on the opinions of the people was very slight. Meagre reports of the proceedings of Parliament are sometimes found in newspapers previous to 1729, when a resolution was adopted that to publish reports of the proceedings of the House was a violation of its privileges, and that offenders should be punished.

Nevertheless, in 1733, somewhat full reports, for those days, of the debates appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, but the names of the speakers were not given. Fourteen years afterwards Cave, the proprietor, and Astley, the editor, of the *London Magazine* were ordered into the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod, and made to promise not to report any more debates, but they nevertheless soon recommenced the practice. In 1762 the *Briton*, a Tory newspaper supporting Bute, was started by Dr Smollett, and this was soon followed by the *North Briton*, which was

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edited by Wilkes. The question of unrestrained action of the Press was fought out chiefly by this energetic Radical Member of Parliament and editor, who fearlessly criticised the policy of Ministers, and credited them with writing the King's Speech in the famous No. 45 of his newspaper. Wilkes and his printer were both arrested, but were released, and obtained damages; and when a few years later the printer of the *London Evening Post* was arrested, the Lord Mayor decided that he had been illegally detained. From this time the feeling in the country was so strong in favour of liberty in reporting parliamentary proceedings that the attempts of the House of Commons to suppress it were quite ineffectual, and in the last quarter of the eighteenth century the Press grew rapidly in importance. The *Times* was founded by Mr Walter in 1788, and rapidly attained a position of importance. The *Edinburgh Review* was founded in 1802, with Francis Jeffrey as editor, and the *Quarterly Review* was established by Sir Walter Scott and the Tories in 1809. In the first decade of the century there were nine morning and seven evening London daily newspapers, of which the *Courier*, the *Morning Post and Gazetteer*, the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Morning Herald*, the *Morning Advertiser*, and the *Globe* were the most important. The *Standard* was started as a Conservative organ opposed to Catholic Emancipation in 1827, and the *Spectator* in 1828.

The *Courier* was first a Liberal and then a Conservative evening newspaper, and the Government especially favoured it with information, but when it followed Canning it became unpopular with the

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Tories, and its directors therefore thought it prudent to again assume a pronounced Conservative tone. The writers in this important organ numbered among them such men as Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Charles Lamb, all of whom were also contributors to the *Morning Post.* The *Times* since 1803 has always been independent, and Dr Stoddart, its editor, soon resigned because he was a too pronounced Tory, and started the *New Times*, a strong Conservative organ.

The *Political Register*, edited by Cobbett, was a strong Radical newspaper, and attacked the editors of the *Courier* and *Morning Post* in most violent language, "venal men" and "hypocrites" being favourite terms of abuse, but although the arguments used were not very subtle, the ideas were disconnected and not easy to follow, so it could not have been widely read by the lower classes, whose cause it advocated.

The provincial newspapers existing at the beginning of the century restricted themselves chiefly to recording news, and rarely expressed opinions on political affairs, but sometimes quoted the London Press. The tone of all was decidedly good, but the attacks on each other were very much more personal than they are now, and the freedom with which they criticised Ministers was equally pronounced, although the facilities for obtaining information on Governmental business and foreign affairs were very few, and so the editors were compelled to rely upon the goodwill of the officials and take what was given them. The *Times*, however, soon showed its superiority in early acquiring information, and in 1809 announced the capitulation

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of Flushing two days before the news was officially known to the Ministry. The Government, jealous of the early publication of important news, endeavoured to stop the editor's despatches from abroad during the war, and he complained to the Home Secretary, but was informed that he would only receive his foreign papers as a favour. "This implied the expectation of a corresponding favour from him in the spirit and tone of his publications, and was firmly rejected, and he suffered for a time (by the loss or delay of important packets) for this resolution to maintain his independence."[1]

Several prosecutions were instituted by the Government against the conductors of journals for commenting upon the Royal Family, and Hunt in 1810 was fined £500 for publishing in the *Examiner* some strictures on the dissolute life of the Prince of Wales. During the next ten years no less than forty official informations were filed by Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Attorney-General, relating to similar offences, and when the *Sunday Times* of February 9th, 1823, deliberately hinted that the King was suffering from a mental malady of an hereditary type, he instructed his Ministers to check the liberty of the Press, but the Cabinet took no steps in that direction.

The political opinions of the Press during this period will be best shown by quoting short extracts relating to the leading questions.

Section II.—The Act of Union with Ireland

The history of the influence of governmental pamphlets and a paid Press in Ireland has been so

[1] James Grant: "The Newspaper Press," vol. i. p. 439.

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very fully told by Mr Lecky that there is no need to do more than note the attitude of the English press at this period. Most of the newspapers scarcely discussed the question at all, but the general tone was one which proves that everyone was aware of the means which were taken to force on the measure, and regarded them as usual and ordinary. The *Times* supported the Union in the following words: "Little doubt can be entertained of the success of that just and salutary measure which has been proposed for the termination of many evils in the incorporation of both kingdoms. The prejudices of some of the Irish, the individual and local interests of some persons or boroughs have been removed or satisfied, and it is merely a part, though a very strong one, that remains to be combated."[1]

"The city of Dublin was considerably agitated during the whole time of the debates, and there is every reason to believe that tumult would have ensued had the military force not been so great. We are concerned to see so much opposition given to a measure which we sincerely believe to be so much to the advantage of both countries."[2]

The *Morning Post and Gazetteer* opposed it strongly: "No sooner do Irish noblemen agree to maintain their Constitution against the projects of Ministers than they are indirectly accused of Jacobinism, and of forming a Consular Committee, etc., and if English Members of Parliament advise peace, they too are accused of Jacobinism. . . . Is it decent, is it prudent of Ministers to defend themselves by such means? Can they suppose

[1] January 16th, 1800.

[2] February 10th, 1800.

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the public are duped by such gross and disgusting falsehoods? . . . The Marquis of Downshire, and all the Orange faction in Ireland, are now Jacobin because they resist the Union! It well becomes the Irish Ministers to brand infamy on their opponents for administering bribes." [1]

The *Courier* expressed no pronounced opinion on the measure during the debates in the Commons of England and Ireland, and when the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland on August 6th, 1800, went in state to the House of Peers to give his assent, it merely quoted extracts from his speech without commenting upon them: "United with the people of Great Britain into one Kingdom, nothing will be wanting on the part of the people of Ireland but a spirit of industry and order to ensure to them the full advantage which the people of Great Britain have enjoyed."

Saunders' News Letter, published in Dublin, strongly opposed the measure. "Proper respect having been paid to the Sovereign's recommendation, let us indulge an hope that the impulse of reason, virtue, pride, or general interest, will dispose those under their influence to answer him in the negative. We have prospered beyond the expectation of the most sanguine since the epoch of our emancipation, and any other connection than what may be founded on affection and mutual benefits must unnerve our exertions. Should we not justly suspect a British Minister who has never favoured us, and who has so calamitously misdirected the affairs of the kingdom over

[1] April 14th, 1800.

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which he officially presides? Let any reflecting man say what will happen if a Union be forced upon us? We shall have our absentees quadrupled. Enterprise, speculation, and all that can stimulate our people, must be extinguished."

But we need not quote further from the Press at this period, for the reason that it had little or no influence, and affected neither the Ministers who intended to pass the measure, whether the country approved or not, nor the people in Ireland, who were, for the most part, indifferent to it, nor the English public, who appeared to take as little interest as they would to-day in a Railway Bill. No General Election was held, so the Press had no power to influence the electorate, the discontented Irish were suppressed by force, the Irish Press was heavily bribed, the Irish House of Commons was bought over, and many promotions and peerages were promised as the price of support to the Government. Perhaps the most instructing of all object lessons in the growth of the influence of the Press is afforded us by comparing its action and power at the period when the Act of Union was passed, and eighty-five years afterward when the proposal was made to repeal it. But we will discuss Home Rule later in its chronological position.

Section III.—The Napoleonic War—1794-1815

The *Times* from the first agreed that the war with France was necessary, and although desirous for peace when it was reasonable, attacked the French Government on all occasions, and was in favour of

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continuing the war until Bonaparte was absolutely crushed. In 1800 it writes that the report that Ulm had surrendered was an exaggeration "thrown out in order to console the public for the disappointment it is about to feel at the continuance of hostilities."

"The address of Carnot, Minister of War, to the Prefects and Generals of the Republic, will be read, no doubt, with the greatest attention. The object is, by all manner of arts, to compel still further recruits from the exhausted bosom of the interior. The language is addressed to the old fanaticism of the people, and to their contempt and hatred of other nations; and this country in particular is honoured with the peculiar rancour and invective of the successor of Robespierre and his Committee of Public Safety." [1]

Bonaparte at this time was most virulently assailed by the English Press, and accused of treason, murder, atheism, and various other crimes of which he certainly was not guilty, and the *Courier* thought it was quite time to stop the senseless railing against him, which "is only calculated to inflame the person who makes use of it, and to irritate the person against whom it is directed."

"Bonaparte may be irreligious—we do not deny it. He got his power by means the most unjustifiable—we do not deny it. But we see that he has the decisive support of the people, and we assert, then, that there is nothing in his character which ought to deter us from endeavouring to conclude an honourable peace. Surely it is not

[1] July 15th, 1800.

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meant to be denied that there are motives sufficiently strong to induce us to make the attempt."[1]

But the writings in the *Ambigu* of Jean Peltier, a French Royalist who had settled in London, so greatly incensed Bonaparte, that he insisted on their suppression, and Addington's Government consented to prosecute the printers in 1802.

The editor of the *Times*, who was a great friend of the brother of Addington, at this date opposed Pitt and eulogised the Government in the following terms:

"The Public are this day called upon to celebrate the return of Peace to this country. On this happy occasion we cannot withhold our acknowledgment to those Ministers who, under favour of Divine Providence, have brought about this much wished for event. It is to their perseverance, moderation, and firmness, that we are indebted for this blessing, and the more we contemplate the unhappy auspices under which they came into power, the more have we to rejoice at the good fortune which has crowned their efforts; and their triumph over the most formidable confederacy that ever threatened this country."[2]

Later in the same year it speaks strongly against the attempt to replace Addington by Pitt.

"At the eve as they suppose of a war, of which they acknowledge all the causes to arise in the injustice and lawless ambition of France, and to which they strive with joint and common endeavours to urge the King's servants, both of these parties are anxious to lay and secure the grounds of future opposition; as if the question were not whether

[1] March 18th, 1800. [2] April 29th, 1802.

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Bonaparte tyrannise the world, or Europe be delivered from his yoke, but whether there be not some interest strong enough in this country to impose by force some Minister upon the choice of their Sovereign and displace another who has faithfully and ably served him, and secured the good wishes and gratitude of the whole nation by the peace he has procured and the moderation and firmness with which he has hitherto maintained it. The Public of this enlightened country will not tamely bear the insolence or be the dupes of the thin artifices with which these designs are coloured or declared, nor is it possible to perceive without contempt and indignation those glaring unprincipled inconsistencies which mark the conduct of these desperate partisans who express their disappointments and mortification at the spirit and vigour with which they believe the project of Bonaparte to be opposed by the King's Ministers." [1]

Two years later the *Times* thus sums up the condition of Europe and the condition of the war:

"We have long since observed that it is from the effects of the French principles that the Governments of Europe are terrified and depressed. It was more by the pernicious influence of their anarchial doctrines than by their tactics that the French conquests were achieved. These specious sounds 'liberty and equality,' 'peace to the cottage war to the castle,' have made an impression on the populace of Europe, which as yet is far from eradicated. The people of this country are the only people that have had their eyes opened to the gross and fatal deception, and for this they are indebted to

[1] October 22nd, 1802.

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the Press. It is worthy of remark that the reply of the Russian's Chargé d'Affaires is the only one of the whole Corps Diplomatique which is couched in terms of dignity ; and the reason is that Russia is the only power which is not afraid of the Usurper."[1]

After Bonaparte had crowned himself Emperor the *Times* thus speaks :—"It may in some degree console that frivolous nation that amidst its distresses, submissions, and slavery, its Tyrant is an Emperor,"[2] but points out that this "new fangled honour certainly adds nothing to his power."

The *Courier* states that "Bonaparte is a Usurper who has neither ascended the throne as an hereditary Prince nor as one chosen by the people. He is in the strictest sense of the word a Usurper."[3]

The *Times* later points out that the discussion of peace with Bonaparte requires "some ingenuity to make it a party question," and refuses to follow the example of some of its contemporaries in doing so. "On the determination of the question whether peace with France be at this time desirable depends the fate of Britain ; and we should wish on a subject of so much consequence to see the people of Great Britain give an unanimous vote."[4]

After the French victory at Ulm over the Austrians, October 19th, 1805, there was naturally a despondent chorus from the English Press, and the *Times* states that "it is with the deepest anguish we announce that the attack of the French upon the Austrian position at Ulm has been crowned with complete success."[5]

The *Morning Post* opines that affairs are far from

[1] April 14th, 1804. [2] May 15th, 1804. [3] April 4th, 1804.
[4] July 4th, 1804. [5] Oct. 29th, 1805.

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being in a desperate condition. "Bonaparte will not dare to continue his progress towards Vienna until he shall have received reinforcements. A few days' interval will afford time to collect and bring up the different corps of the Austrian troops and a very formidable and numerous army may still be assembled to make head against the successful troops of Bonaparte." [1]

The *Courier* also adopts a hopeful tone and states that some interruption will be made to Bonaparte's march to Vienna by an army of 100,000 Russians and Austrians, but it fears that "the discontented in this country, the jobbers in politics and the retainers of faction will extol the genius of Bonaparte to the highest pitch, representing him as something supernatural who cannot be resisted, thus shaking the confidence and courage of the people of England and weakening our national strength." [2]

The *Sun* thinks the loss is greatly exaggerated, and all the newspapers throw great blame on General Mack for his failure. But the hopes of the nation are buoyed up by the result of the battle of Trafalgar, although the death of Nelson causes a pathetic note in the chorus of exultation.

The following extract from the *Times* sums up well the general condition and position of the enemies' fleets at the time:

"The official account of the late naval action, which terminated in the most decisive victory that has ever been achieved by British skill and gallantry, will be found in our paper of this day. That the triumph, great and glorious as it is, has been dearly bought, and that such was the general opinion

[1] October 30th, 1805. [2] *Id.*

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was powerfully evinced in the deep and universal affliction with which the news of Lord Nelson's death was received.

"No ebullition of popular transport, no demonstration of public joy, marked this great and important event.

"The action appears to have been gallantly contested by the French and Spaniards. Their object in risking an encounter with such a fleet, commanded by such a man, must have been one of imperious necessity at the moment, no less, we suspect, than a bold effort to acquire a complete ascendency in the Mediterranean. Had they succeeded in liberating that portion of the Spanish navy which is confined to the port of Carthagena by the bare apprehension of an English Squadron, their united forces would have amounted to forty sail of line. There are also some ships at Toulon and the Rochefort Squadron, with its usual success, might perhaps have also added its strength to the combined force. With such a port as Toulon to take refuge in, a fleet of this extent under commanders of common capacity must have occupied a very large portion indeed of our naval strength."[1]

But the success at Trafalgar was soon followed by the defeat at Austerlitz on December 2nd, 1805, and the tone again becomes depressed. The *Courier* is anxious to know what is to become of Prussia. "We know not how Prussia can avoid a war with France without the most servile submission and apology. Yet her force is not so contemptible as to reduce her to the necessity of humbling herself even before the power of France."[2]

[1] November 7th, 1805. [2] December 30th, 1805.

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The *Sun* agrees that Austria is "almost conquered," but still "there are 30,000 men with the Emperor, 100,000 with the Archduke Charles, and if the Russians lost 30,000 men in the action they have 40,000 left in Moravia, and the Prussians have 170,000 men ready for action. Is it probable that Europe will basely submit to one power when they have 450,000 men ready to act?"[1]

The *Times*: "Incredible as this sudden and unexpected termination of the war is we are compelled to give it reluctant credit. From the Baltic to the farthest extreme of Italy, there is not a sovereign or prince who at this moment may not be said to hold his power by suffrance from Bonaparte. What this frightful state is to lead to, is in the womb of time. The victor may be merciful on the Continent, but we who despise his power are not to expect peace from his moderation.

"He pledged himself to his troops that he would make peace at Vienna before Christmas, and in London before Easter. He has redeemed that pledge in the first instance; we are persuaded he will endeavour to do so in the latter."[2]

When Bonaparte issued his celebrated Berlin Decrees, the Press strongly supported the Government in their action in retaliating by the Orders in Council.

The *Times* states that several English ships with their cargoes have been seized in Holland and confiscated, and continues: "But confident as we may be that all these attempts of the enemy can be of little real detriment to the interests of this country, it nevertheless becomes us to resent the

[1] December 30th, 1805. [2] December 31st, 1805.

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spirit of the injury as if it were one, and to make such reprisals as are in our power."[1]

The *Courier* thinks the Orders in Council to detain and bring in all ships and vessels belonging to neutrals trading from one port of France to another "is a very excellent measure and Ministers deserve the highest credit for it."[2]

The *Morning Post* says: "The Order of Council, stated in our paper of yesterday to have been issued relative to the trade of neutrals with the ports of the enemy, is a measure which must meet the approbation of every British subject."[3]

After the Battle of Corunna and the death of Sir John Moore two years later, another general lament is heard, and the subdued tone of the *Times* well represents the general thought of the country in 1809:

"As the first transports of grief begin to subside for the loss of so many brave men who have perished—the greater part in a most rapid retreat, and the rest in a glorious battle—public opinion begins naturally to take a reasonable turn; for the majority of the kingdom is not composed of fools, and every man asks either himself or his neighbours what great good has been effected by these unexampled exertions of British hardihood, perseverance, and valour? to whom are we to direct them for an answer? Can Ministry, can Opposition, can the strange dispatch of General Hope, give them or us any rational information upon this important subject? we have suffered cruelly, we have bled profusely, we have conquered gloriously in the Peninsular, and upon the Coast of Spain; and

[1] January 14th, 1807. [2] January 9th, 1807. [3] January 10th, 1807.

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what are the advantages which thence accrue to us? We have escaped!—We have got away!—We are safe!—some of us at least, in our own harbour; but as to our allies, we must not mention them. They have too much magnanimity to upbraid us, and we must endeavour, if possible, for the sake of our own peace of mind not to think of them."[1]

But the national depression was to a great extent removed by the successes of Wellington in the Peninsula, and after the defeat of Napoleon at Moscow one great shout of joy arose, but it is interesting to observe that the party spirit was still very apparent, and the gruesome forebodings of the Whigs were commented upon by the *Courier* as follows:—"In the first rush of our triumph and exaltation the party yesterday, as usual, employed great pains to dash from our lips the cup of joy. These victories they feared might transport the feelings of the nation beyond the bounds of that sober and philosophical moderation with which they would wish to consider them—and hence, after alluding to them, without expressing either joy or admiration of the troops that have achieved them, they dismiss the subject by asking: Who can tell after all whether France may not renew the war in May next if Austria does not change her politics? Our answer is the thing is possible, but every mail from Petersburg renders it less probable, and an army which has lost its military chest, its artillery, and its cavalry, has not the same chance of leading its reluctant allies to fresh sacrifices of blood and treasure. What may still remain in store for these pests of other nations we do not

[1] January 25th, 1809.

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pretend to foretell, because we have not the gift of prophecy, and we do not choose, like the party, to expose ourselves to the disgrace of having our conjectures uniformily contradicted by the event. But it seems all this is introduced for the sake of an epigram on Lord Castlereagh, and because he is Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Court of Vienna will not trust us. Have the party then forgotten the instance of confidences which the Emperor of Russia has placed in His Majesty's Cabinet by committing his fleet into their safe custody? The last Ministry broke with him, by a solemn declaration that they could not, or would not, give him any assistance, and the British Plenipotentiary advised him to blot his own fair fame by signing the Treaty of Tilsit, and postpone the deliverance of Europe, under an impression that his army was ruined, which, within forty-eight hours after the fatal deed was done, the reports from his different generals positively contradicted. Let the advocates for the last Administration answer this charge if they can." [1]

The *Times* indulges in hysterical rhetoric:

"For the great and glorious work of the fell tyrant's destruction, we must not, however, give the exclusive credit to the exertions of man, however great and splendid these heroic exertions may have been. The elements of nature have made common cause with the suffering inhabitants of Europe, and Heaven has consummated that retribution which their wrongs had so long implored. Hundreds and thousands of armed robbers have within a few months been swept from the face of

[1] December 17th, 1812.

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the earth, and an awful lesson held out to future invaders who may thirst for the blood of their fellow creatures, and seek universal dominion for no other purpose than to become the oppressors and curse of the human race." [1]

At this time party rancour was very pronounced both in Parliament and in the Press, and it is interesting to pause and examine the wordy warfare which was carried on.

The *Times* hopes that Bonaparte is either captured or dead, and although anxious as usual to avoid exaggeration, opines "that every day's lapse without certain information of his escape tends greatly to strengthen our hopes." [2]

Bonaparte is described as a "wretched vagabond," and the article proceeds: "He ran away alone and in disguise, or as the Parisian journals phrase it, 'He travelled in a single sledge.' When he went upon the unhallowed expedition, his menaces, his predictions, his lying accounts of past and present exploits rivalled each other in shamelessness." [3]

The *Sun* violently attacks the Opposition, stating that "their credulity when any intelligence unfavourable to this country arrives can only be equalled by their scepticism when news of a contrary description is received," and the *Morning Chronicle* resents this, and answers: "The decency of this imputation on a body of persons who have ten times the interest in the permanent security and welfare of Great Britain that the Administration and their friends can boast is manifest. The Opposition look with real anxiety to the return of a

[1] December 18th, 1812. [2] December 21st, 1812.
[3] December 24th, 1812.

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state of things that may give us a chance of relief from the calamities in which we have been unnecessarily plunged. And if they feel it their duty to examine the truth of the bulletins published by both parties with a scrupulous eye, it is because experience forbids them to have implicit confidence in the fidelity of either side."[1]

These two quotations are extremely interesting, for one represents the ideas of the Whig mind as they appeared to the Tory writer in the *Sun*, and the other exemplifies the indignation aroused in the Whig when accused of a lack of patriotism. The same types of minds are discovered throughout the century, and these two identical quotations could have been used over and over again during the Crimean War, the Zulu War, the Transvaal War, or at any other period when we were engaged in hostilities.

The *Courier* speaks of the lack of patriotism of the Whigs in still stronger terms: "There is something in the nature of every contest that France wages against any other Power that secures to her, from a party in this country, support. They are always ready with their anticipations of ill to the nation that resists her, always prepared with eulogies upon her generals, her armies, and her tactics, and with sneers and sarcasms against the troops, and generals, and tactics opposed to them—they seem to feel a pride, at least they always exhibit a promptitude in doubting and diminishing the value of all victories that are not gained by Bonaparte, and insulting those who may have the misery of falling beneath him. But the most curious assertion

[1] December 19th, 1812.

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which we so often hear from the party is 'that foreign nations have no confidence in us!' No confidence in us, indeed, could they have, if the country were cursed by that party being in power from whom they have heard nothing but praises of the enemy and calumnies against his opponents."[1]

Regarding the war with America and its true cause, the *Courier* thus speaks: "Every communication from America shows that these Orders (in Council), though made the pretext, were never the real grounds of complaint or the real cause of the war. If the American official paper speaks the language and sentiment of its Government, we are distinctly told by it that the 'Orders in Council are no longer a question that our flag, like the soil we inherit, must in future secure all that sails under it.' Thus the Bonapartian principle of 'free bottoms make free goods' is avowed as the ground of the war and the conditions of peace. To obtain peace we must give up, not the right of search only, but the right of blockade, except in the interpretation of Bonaparte. America claims to carry on, not her own, but the enemy's trade in the time of war, and thus to rise upon our commercial and political ruin.

"It is, therefore, no longer the Orders in Council which are the ground of quarrel. These never were the true ground of the misunderstanding, and had they never been enacted, the present ground of hostility assumed by America would have existed and been acted on. The real motives which have governed the late policy of the ruling party there have been, a wish to carry on a fraudulent but

[1] September 29th, 1812.

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lucrative trade against the laws of war and neutrality, at the expense of England, and a corrupt devotedness to Bonaparte as the only person who could, or would, sanction them in their aggressive design upon their neighbours, and the maritime rights and commercial interests of Great Britain."[1]

The *Morning Post*, after the retreat from Moscow, sneers at the Opposition for wishing to treat for peace with Napoleon on the basis that he should still remain Emperor, and is not without "confident hope that the resentment of the people of France will effect the overthrow of the tyrant, as that of his army has been completed by the brave and vengeful sons of Russia."[2]

The *Morning Chronicle* agrees with the *Courier*, *Times*, *Anti-Gallican*, and others, who say that Bonaparte must not be left with what he possessed at the beginning of this campaign, but thinks that "is no argument against proposing peace upon a basis agreed on by England, Russia, Spain, and Portugal."[3]

During the negotiations in the early months of 1814, the attitude of the Press was as follows:

The *Times* thinks Bonaparte is the head of a faction only, and is strongly in favour of the restoration of the Bourbons;[4] advises that peace should be delayed, because Bonaparte is daily losing strength, and the capital is becoming discontented;[5] is pleased that the negotiations with Bonaparte have been broken off, and states that "throughout all the great towns in Britain there is but one sentiment on the subject. Our nation has a sense of moral dignity which would have

[1] October 2nd, 1812. [2] December 26th, 1812.
[3] December 25th, 1812. [4] January 5th, 1814. [5] March 3rd, 1814.

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been grievously wounded by a treaty with Bonaparte. From that disgrace we have been saved, we trust, for ever."[1]

The *Morning Post* hopes that Lord Castlereagh is instructed to disclaim all immoderate pretensions on our part, and to concede such points to our allies as may be done consistent with our safety and honour, "though, perhaps, less so with our feelings."[2]

The *Courier* is in favour of carrying on the war until Bonaparte is destroyed and the Bourbons restored, and attacks the *Morning Chronicle*.[3] In April, after the entrance of the allies into Paris, it congratulates itself that it has always advised that "no peace we could sign with Bonaparte would be either safe, or honourable, or sound."[4]

Bell's Weekly Messenger hopes that the Netherlands will not remain in the hands of France, and advises that not one acre of land should be granted to her beyond her ancient boundaries.[5]

After the return of Napoleon from Elba and his defeat at Waterloo, the final Hallelujah Chorus is sung by the combined organs of both parties, but this is soon modified when Louis XVIII. shows a tendency, by the rigour of his rule, to attempt to establish an extreme autocratic system of government and to corrupt the Chamber of Deputies by illegal nominations. The *Morning Post* styles his decrees against traitors as "Proclamations of Rigour," and the *Courier* sneers at the term, but the newspapers are unanimous in insisting that the allies should take some security for the good

[1] April 14th, 1814. [2] January 4th, 1814. [3] January, 1814.
[4] April 6th, 1814. [5] January 2nd, 1814.

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behaviour of France and should endeavour to strengthen the French Monarchy to repel the designs of the Jacobins.

The following extracts from the Quarterly and Edinburgh Reviews show the character of the feeling against Bonaparte and the opinion of the incapacity of the Bourbons at this period.

In No. 23, art xi. of the *Quarterly Review* is expressed a strong apprehension that an invasion of Napoleon from Elba would again endanger the peace of Europe, and the writer continues in No. 27, art iii., October 1815:[1] "We did not, however, foresee that he would have been able, as if by magic, and without striking a blow, to march from Cannes to Paris, and reseat himself without opposition on the Imperial throne. . . . We had not, indeed, much confidence in the moral or political virtues of the revolutionised part of that country; still we were not prepared for the horrible scenes of prying and treason in which so great a number of its marshals, peers, deputies, judges, generals, officers, and soldiers, hastened (with the emulation of scoundrels jealous of one another's baseness) to act their infamous parts. Bonaparte knew these people better and trusted—less their affection for him than their hatred of the principles of peace, religion, morals, and honour, which the King had endeavoured to plant in an ungrateful soil."

The writer thinks there was much discontent with the Restoration and that there was an understanding among the Jacobins that some changes in the Government should be attempted, but "that it was

[1] This article was written by Mr J. W. Croker.

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never intended to call in the desperate aid of Bonaparte."

After the battle of Waterloo, "in the Chamber of Deputies all the old Jacobins immediately took heart; and though it was little more than a week since they had sworn allegiance to Napoleon, they, one and all, showed a disposition to depose this Sovereign of their choice, this idol of the oaths and incense of the past week's festival, and a deputation with very vague instructions was appointed to wait on the Emperor." On the suggestion of Lucien Bonaparte, Napoleon abdicated in favour of his son, but the reins of government were seized by Fouché, Carnot, Caulaincourt, Grenier, and Quinette, three of whom were republican regicides. "This directory of five, during its short reign, imitated all former directories — honour, virtue, sentiment, liberty in their mouth—baseness, vice, cruelty, and despotism in their actions."

After attempting first to escape to America and then to negotiate with the senior officer of the British Squadron Bonaparte finally embarked in the *Bellerophon*, and said—"Sir, I come to claim the protection of your prince and your laws."

"Here, we must observe, is the characteristic perseverance of this man in falsehood, and in the spirit of quibble and subterfuge, which is the only tribute he pays to truth. We have seen him *driven* from France and attempting first an *escape* and afterwards a *capitulation*, and, failing in both, *forced* to an unconditional surrender; yet with those facts present to his own mind and obvious to all about him, he was not ashamed to describe himself as a *voluntary* exile, and with a swaggering air en-

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deavour to bully us into what he called hospitality."

"Of the arts which he protruded, rather than protected, he knew nothing, or next to nothing; of what is usually termed *feeling* he had none, but for himself; he never felt either pity or love. . . . In short, this man displayed in his alternate extravagances all that is most noble and most vile in human nature; the greatest majesty of sovereignty, and in the boldest decision of command with the most ignoble subterfuges and the most dastardly pusillanimity; listening through keyholes for evidence in which to dethrone monarchs, and uniting the audacity of Tamerlane with the arts of a waiting woman—exhibits to use M. de Pradt's lively expressions a species of Jupiter-Scapin, which had not before appeared on the stage of the world."

The *Edinburgh Review*[1] states that in spite of the second restoration of the ancient line of princes in France there is still deep discontent, but it is impossible to gauge because open communication by means of the Press has never been permitted. This is different to our system where "the channels by which public opinion is collected and conveyed are everywhere visible and conspicuous."

The lack of any organisation for the transmission of political sentiments enables a few daring spirits to force the bulk of the nation "upon courses not more against their interests than their inclinations," because there are no means of discovering how few they are or what a great majority would oppose the usurpation.

The reigning family are much disliked, and during

[1] October 1815, art. xi.

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the whole period of their expulsion the public "designated them only as objects of scorn and aversion; and it is equally undeniable that the state of things which followed upon their expulsion, however fruitful it might be of crimes and barren of substantial comforts, yet gave rise to a series of events, incalculably flattering to the national vanity, and captivating beyond measure to the selfish ambition of the bold and aspiring part of the society," the Restoration "was simply the case of France being invaded and conquered, and its government overthrown by Russian and Prussian armies, and a prince who had not been heard of for twenty years coming under their escort, and ascending the vacant throne."

A description follows of the benefits produced by the Revolution, and the alteration of the laws and the personal measures of Louis XVIII. in 1814 which restricted the liberty of the Press, levied taxes without the consent of the Legislature, and reorganised the Cour de Cassation. These acts produced very general disgust and alarm in the body of the nation, and in the midst of it Bonaparte landed from Elba. "To us he has always appeared a most pernicious and detestable tyrant, without feeling, principle, or concern for human sufferings or honour."

After Waterloo the King entered Paris with the allies and there agreed to terms more humiliating and disadvantageous for France, than ever had been imposed on her in the course of three hundred years of war and negotiation. He then proceeded to pack the Chambers with Royalists by directing the prefects to nominate the electors instead of allowing the people to choose them.

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"It is impossible to look at such an event as the revival of civil contentions in France, even as a remote possibility, without strenuously inculcating upon this country the propriety, the justice, the necessity of an absolute, true, and entire neutrality. We have no right to interfere. We have no interest to interfere. But if Bonaparte should escape from St Helena we should not much quarrel with those who should hold that a ground for immediate opposition. We support hereditary monarchy but not the divine right of Kings, and the right of the people to change the succession must be asserted in every country that has the smallest pretensions to liberty."

The Congress of Vienna had for its object the collecting and embodying in one treaty all the previous declarations, regulations, treaties, and conventions, and to complete and add to the Treaty of Paris of 1814. The Congress was attended by Austria, Spain, France, Great Britain, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden, and the final treaty was signed by seventeen representatives. The Articles of the Act were printed in full in *The St James' Chronicle* in a series of numbers extending from July 22nd to August 3rd, 1815, but it is singular that very little discussion of them appears in the Press.

The *Times* suggests that there should be more certain landmarks between France and Germany, and that "every country and every stream which, from the Vosges and the Ardennes, falls into the Rhine or the Scheldt should belong to Germany or the Netherlands, and what flows into the Seine should remain French."[1]

[1] July 29th, 1815.

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The rest of the newspapers are very full of the King's ordinances and of the movements of Bonaparte, but no notice is taken of the Vienna Treaty. We have quoted the Press during the period of the Napoleonic War somewhat at length to show that even at this early period accurate news of events was comparatively quickly reported and the policy of the Government openly and vigorously criticised; and we must remember that if the newspapers had a limited circulation and cost 7d. each, the franchise was also limited to the few who could afford to buy them and educated enough to understand them.

The Government were keenly alive to the importance of the influence of the Press at this date, and Lord Liverpool, writing to Lord Castlereagh, September 15th, 1815, complains of the action of the English Press in not supporting them and in causing an unfavourable opinion of France and its new Monarchy.

"It is supposed by many at home, and, I have no doubt, generally believed on the Continent, that these papers are in the pay of Government; whereas no paper that has any character and consequently an established sale will accept money from Government; the only indirect means we possess of having any influence over the editors is by supplying them occasionally with foreign intelligence and by advertisements."[1]

Section IV.—The Regency of 1811

The principle laid down by Pitt and combated by Fox in 1788 has been already described (p. 261), and the *Times*, after stating that the Chancellor of

[1] Castlereagh Correspondence, xi. p. 17.

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the Exchequer now intended to follow it and to proceed by a Regency Bill, and that the Opposition wished simply to present an address to the Prince of Wales inviting him to accept the high office of Regent, thus proceeds—"In either case the authority seems to spring from the people through their representatives in Parliament. The chief object, therefore, is to study simplicity and avoid delay in the proceedings."[1]

The *Courier* states that "it was thrown out by Mr Sheridan that the present circumstances differ considerably from those of 1788 . . . but they are considerations only of degree and detail, and not of substance or principle. Some limitation of the time for which the restrictions on the Regent's power are to exist should, we think, under all the circumstances be made, because it does not follow that what was reasonable in point of time twenty years ago should be so at the present."[2]

The *Sun* thus proceeds: "The *Morning Chronicle*, which perpetually boasts of maintaining constitutional principles of Liberty, contains this day one of the most extraordinary paragraphs that we believe ever appeared in an English newspaper. It states 'that notwithstanding the unanimous declaration and protest of all the branches of the Royal Family, Ministers persevere in the course of proceeding they have announced.'

"With the utmost possible deference and respect to every part of the Royal Family we contend that the two Houses of Parliament have a right to proceed in the discharge of their duty, notwithstanding the protest of any or of all the Royal Dukes, and that

[1] December 18th, 1810. [2] December 20th, 1810.

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right was never called in question before. We beg to ask whether any single instance can be produced where any proceedings of Parliament were stayed by such a protest; or whether any authority can be produced where such a doctrine is laid down?

"We desire not to be misunderstood; we are far from insinuating that the Royal Dukes signed the protest with any such view; we are only commenting upon the manner in which the *Chronicle* has thought proper to make use of that protest."[1]

Section V.—The Six Acts of 1819

The *Times* strongly opposes the repressive Acts of Lord Liverpool's Government and attacks the *Courier* in the following amusing terms, which are a fair example of the newspaper recriminations of the period:

"Alas! the poor *Courier*! We knew we should make mincemeat of him when he first nibbled at us and yet the foolish fellow could not be prevailed on to abstain."[2]

After the riots in Manchester and the Six Acts had been passed, the *Times* opined that the measure would be of no use, and entreated the Ministers to consider how long they had permitted the causes of popular complaint to remain unremedied, but nevertheless expressed utter contempt for the principles, pretensions, and measures of the Radical reformers.

The *Courier*, on the other hand, thought that "never indeed were measures proposed which more completely followed the common call of the country. They have been framed, too, in that spirit of temper-

[1] December 22nd, 1810. [2] November 17th, 1819.

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ate constitutional wisdom which proves that their object is to protect liberty not to infringe upon it." [1]

Section VI.—The attempt to divorce Queen Caroline, 1820

The sympathy of the public was undoubtedly with the Queen, and both the character of George IV. and the manner in which he had treated her prejudiced the country against the action of the Ministers in attempting her divorce. Cobbett wrote a strong letter, signed Caroline R., and after submitting it to the Queen, who warmly approved of it, printed it in the *Political Register*. This letter was calculated to arouse the sympathy of the people, and, after stating that while the late King lived "his unoffending daughter-in-law had nothing to fear," proceeds to revile the Court for calumniating her. "I have always demanded a fair trial. This is what I now demand, and this is refused me. Instead of a fair trial I am to be subjected to a sentence by the Parliament passed in the shape of a law. Against this I protest." The letter then advances the ingenious argument that the Ministers advised the prosecution, and are thus responsible for it, but that the King is the plaintiff, and can create or elevate peers, and can coerce the rest. "To regard such a body as a Court of Justice would be to calumniate that sacred name." [2] The opinions of the rest of the organs were shortly as follows:

The *Times* strongly supports the cause of the Queen, and considers it an indisputable fact that

[1] December 2nd, 1819. [2] *Political Register*, December 1819.

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among the middle and lower classes not one in a thousand but is as firmly convinced of the Queen's innocence as of their own existence, and doubts if the nation will be satisfied that justice has been done if the charge is brought forward, inquired into, and judged by Cabinet Ministers, and so advises them to withdraw it in time.[1]

After Canning had retired from the Ministry, the *Times*, although it has "on more than one occasion spoken of him in terms of free and not unprovoked reprehensions," thinks on the present occasion that his conduct is "an honourable exception to that of his mean associates."[2]

The *Morning Post* thinks that the Queen's cause and radicalism are one, and regrets very much that she continues to answer addresses which have merely the object of bringing the judges into disrepute, and thinks she ought to wait calmly the result of a trial before the "most noble, honourable, and learned Tribunal upon earth."[3]

The *New Times* complains of the action of the seditious Press who libel "the most honourable of our public men under the mask of an attachment to a particular cause."[4]

The *Courier* supports the Ministry in the following strong terms:—"Her Majesty has been fatally advised if she has been taught to believe that the mobs which have infested her house and dogged her movements, or the spurious addresses that have been got up, denote the sentiments of the nation upon her case. She has miserably miscalculated the moral and intellectual habits of

[1] August 9th, 1820.
[2] December 21st, 1820.
[3] August 2nd, 1820.
[4] August 14th, 1820.

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Englishmen if she supposes that the wealth, the talent, the influence, the character of the country will be arrayed on her side should the Parliament of England pass the pending Bill of Pains and Penalties. And until they are, mere brute force can only pollute for a time what it will vainly endeavour to destroy. The storm may gather, it may burst, but the vessel of the State will not founder. It is fit we should look at this extreme case. Danger is abroad, we admit it, but danger is not to be overcome by shutting our eyes to its approaches. It must be met with a bold front and well prepared means. It will be so met, and the guilty project, if such be entertained, of unseating justice to evade its sentence will recoil upon its contrivers. We know precisely the sort of enemy with whom we have to contend. They are the Radicals of last year transformed into the Queen's friends of this." [1]

The *Courier* regrets very much the retirement of Canning, "but if the Opposition entertain any hope that their falling fortunes will be bolstered up by the accession of Mr Canning to their cause they will find themselves miserably mistaken." [2]

The *Sun*, commenting upon the letter of the Queen, laments "that she should have fallen into the hands of such flagitious evil-councillors as should have prompted her to address so audacious a production to the Sovereign of the country." [3]

Popular feeling ran so strongly in favour of the Queen that the Bill was ultimately withdrawn.

[1] August 14th, 1820. [2] December 20th, 1820. [3] August 14th, 1820.

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Section VII.—Catholic Emancipation

In 1807 the *Times* stated that the cause of the postponement of the Bill for allowing Roman Catholics to receive commissions in the army was due to a disagreement of opinion on this subject among the leading members of Government. "There is, however, a certain delicacy in the circumstances which naturally induces us to waive, for the present at least, any observation upon it,"[1] and a few days later remarks that "the real cause of the postponement is, we believe, of a very different nature." This was followed by a strong anti-Ministerial article: "Do the Foxites mean again to moot the point whether resistance to the King be a question of morality or of prudence? Do they wish to give a practical illustration of that principle which they were eternally inculcating when they were in opposition, of cashiering kings for misconduct? After such conduct and such language, the people will be glad to hear of the dismissal of Ministers."[2]

When Sir Robert Peel was Irish Secretary, he encouraged the friendly Press, but maintained that papers in "our pay," ought not to attack each other. The Proclamation Fund, which was practically a subsidy to the Press, amounted in 1816 to £10,000 a year. Peel strongly reproved the *Dublin Journal* and the *Patriot* for publishing forgeries and libels, and thought that all the influence the Catholic Board had was through the Press, and all the injury they could do was by the infamous and inflammatory libels put forth in their speeches.

The *Evening Post* at first supported the Board,

[1] March 14th, 1807. [2] March 19th, 1807.

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but afterwards turned round and opposed it because it allowed a contributor to be prosecuted because he had published the resolutions which it had passed. Eventually the Government declared the Board illegal by proclamation, and it was suppressed.

The Catholic Association was founded by O'Connell and Shiel in 1823, and soon grew to be a great and formidable society. The *Catholic Journal* was established to "promptly and energetically remind the Catholics of their political duties, and to rouse them into action by precept and example for the restoration of their just rights," and was stopped immediately after the Act was passed in 1829.

The opinions of the leading organs in 1827 and 1828 were as follows:—

Quarterly Review, October 1828, art. x.:[1]

"In Ulster we have a good example of the great benefit which wise measures may produce, even when undertaken under most unfavourable circumstances. The moral and physical condition of the inhabitants is so much better there than in the rest of Ireland because they have been educated in the Protestant faith. Other wise measures were the introduction of the linen trade, and the Tithe Commutation Bill, which 'has already worked so well that it is in a fair way of putting an end to that particular grievance which had been made to hold the most prominent place.'

"The Catholic Association is the most dangerous and most mischievous body which has ever been suffered to exist in Ireland. It commands a paid Press in England as well as in Ireland, 'to circulate

[1] Written by Mr R. Southey.

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its poison through every part of the country; it has actors who stick at no falsehood to alienate the people from their confidence in every established institution of the country, and the priests have amply fulfilled the expectations of the Association by their undisguised expressions of hostility to the Constitution.' The reason of this is not because the Roman Catholics are excluded from Parliament, but because 'no other peasantry in Christendom is at this time so grievously and grindingly oppressed by the landholders.' Specimens of Mr O'Connell's harangues do not persuade us that the peace of the country is safe in his hands. The Protestant dissenters must be deemed erroneous by those who profess the principles of the Established Church, but they 'acknowledge no foreign jurisdiction.'

"With such limitations as humanity requires, and as our faith enjoins, no sect is entitled to ask for more toleration than it is willing to give. If our principles are declared by them (the Catholics) to be so pernicious that a Protestant, however blameless, however amiable, however virtuous and pious, must necessarily be excluded because of them from the kingdom of heaven, surely they ought not to complain, as of a grievance and injustice, that the British Protestant Government has deemed it necessary because of theirs, to exclude them from seats in the Legislature, and from a few offices in the State." We know what was *not* intended by these distinguished statesmen who first stirred the question of Catholic emancipation. 'Mr Pitt entailed upon these kingdoms far greater evils by this part of his conduct than by engaging in the war with revolutionary France.' . . .

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"But Mr Pitt never intended to remove the existing restrictions without substituting others which should be equally or more efficient for the security of the Constitution.

"Suppose there should be a sovereign who was persuaded that the Roman Catholic Church was the true and only Church in which salvation could be obtained. Against this danger we have a security in the Protestant Constitution; 'but if the Legislature were no longer Protestant, who shall say that that security might not be annulled?'

"Better the condition of the poor, educate the people; execute justice and maintain peace; and Catholic emancipation will then become as vain and feeble a cry in Ireland as Parliamentary reform has become in England."

The Edinburgh Review, June 1827, art. vi.:

In this article the mental incompetence of George III. is mentioned and the absurdity of attaching more weight to a man's words after he is dead, simply because he was a monarch, is pointed out. The main argument deals with the Coronation Oath. The Archbishop says:—"Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel and the Protestant religion established by law; and will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do appertain unto them or any of them? The answer is, 'All this I promise to do.'"

"The thing promised is, to support the religion established by law; the rights and privileges promised to be preserved are those which 'are or

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shall' be given to the Church 'by law.' The oath plainly applies to the conduct of the King in his executive capacity, not as a branch of the Legislature; it binds him to reign according to law in his conduct as King; it forbids him either to hang men without lawful judgment or to attack the Church illegally; or to take from religion its lawful sanction; or to take from the Church its lawful rights."

The promises given in the Coronation Oath do not imply that the King is bound to govern by the statutes then in being, but only by such statutes as should at any time be agreed upon.

The *Times* supports the Bill, and complains that the old "No Popery" arts are resorted to for manufacturing petitions in favour of intolerance; it praises O'Connell for his good sense in not opposing the clause of the Bill which excluded him from Parliament except after a fresh election.[1]

The *Morning Post* opposes "the meditated revolution," and opines that "the Protestantism of the throne will be evidently an useless restraint upon the Monarch and a gratuitous stigma upon the Catholic faith; even the Throne may be surrounded by Popish counsellors, and the King be compelled, as a distinct branch of the Legislature, to enact laws in conjunction with a House of Lords and a House of Commons, into which a Popish influence indefinite and unlimited in power and extent shall have been introduced."[2]

The *Age* strongly opposes the Bill in the following style throughout: "The Bill for breaking in upon the Constitution of 1688 is to be read a second time on St Patrick's Day—an appropriate festival.

[1] March 24th, 1829. [2] March 19th, 1829.

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It is indeed an Irish triumph over England. That day month, the 17th of April, will be the appropriate day for Mr Peel's consummation of his treachery. It is Good Friday; on that day the treason of Iscariot was consummated, and it will complete the parallel of Mr Peel to that type of his order if he could so time it as to finish his work on the very day which completed the villainy of the elder miscreant." [1]

The *Standard* opposes the measure because it violates the Constitution, and suggests that people should send in petitions against it, and demand a dissolution of the House of Commons on the ground that the Commons did not at that time represent the will of the people and opposed the will of the King.[2]

The *St James Chronicle* also opposes, but the *Morning Chronicle*, *Globe*, and the *Sun* support the Ministers.

The *Dublin Evening Mail* opposes the measure because it will place Papists "in as bad, if not in a worse, situation than before, and deprive Protestants of securities which they consider and which really are essential to the existence of the Constitution." [2]

The *Birmingham Journal* opposes the measure and speaks of it after it had passed in the following manner:—"The Bill, the object of which is the dissolution of our Protestant Constitution, as established in the glorious era of Elizabeth of England and confirmed after toil and trouble, after bloodshed and civil commotions in 1688, has passed through the Lower House of Parliament by a majority of 178."

[1] March 15th, 1829. [2] March 3rd, 1829. [3] March 2nd, 1829.

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"The brazen phalanx of political corruption, religious apostacy and party degeneracy was too strong for successful opposition. The enemies of their country, and their country's constitution, and the faith of their fathers, and the well-being of all sects in religion, and all parties in politics have for the moment triumphed."[1]

The *Liverpool Courier* accuses Peel and Wellington of being frightened by O'Connell and the Catholic Association, and opposes the Bill strongly on the ground that "as popery and liberty never did unite in this country, it cannot be very much for the interest of liberty to give power to Popery."[2]

The *Liverpool Chronicle*, on the other hand, supports the measure, congratulates Peel on his courage in bringing it in, and thinks that no public meeting of the inhabitants of Liverpool could be induced to sanction a petition against the Catholic claims.[3]

The first thought which occurs to us after reading the Press at this period, is whether the writers could really have believed in the danger of Popish supremacy and loss of Protestant liberty, but there can be no doubt that many people were worked up into a state of alarm similar to that which actuates a few of the thoughtless at the present time. If the writers did not conscientiously state their true opinions in this case there was not even the feeble and dishonest excuse for them that exaggeration is permissible in party warfare for the measure was supported by a large majority in the Commons composed of all parties, and was introduced by a Conservative Ministry. Fortunately the good sense of the people prevented any riotous mani-

[1] April 4th, 1829. [2] March 18th, 1829. [3] February 13th, 1829.

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festations, but no credit for fair unimpassioned reasoning can be given to the Opposition Press.

Section VII.—Greek Independence

The actions of the Ministers and the party feelings aroused during the negotiations for liberating Greece from the Ottoman rule, have been already described, but the public manifested no interest in the proceedings until after the battle of Navarino on October 20th, 1827. It is therefore of interest to examine the opinions of the Press at that time and their comments on the Russo-Turkish war which followed.

The *Times* thinks the battle "may be considered as having sprung out of accidental causes," but states as a fact that "the English fleet and its allies were attacked." It is therefore of opinion that negotiations may still continue with Turkey and thinks the "loss sustained by the Egyptian part of the conquered fleet may in some degree console the Sublime Porte for the injury inflicted on the rest."[1]

"The allies had said decisively that the Turks and Greeks should not continue to wage war upon each other any longer; they had even made a Treaty to that effect which was communicated to the Turkish Government, could then the Turkish Government after the conclusion and communication of the Treaty, expect that it would be any longer permitted to direct the massacre of the Greeks?"[2]

The *Morning Post* sneers at the newspapers which speak of the battle being the result of an

[1] November 12th, 1827. [2] November 13th, 1827.

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accident, and proceeds: "The advocates of the Administration may labour to cast the charge of aggression upon the Turks; but their endeavours can have no other effect than to excite a suspicion that Ministers begin to dread the consequences of the war in which they have needlessly and wantonly involved the nation."[1]

The *Morning Chronicle*: "It must be allowed that it is quite unusual for neutrals to compel belligerents to negotiate and to prevent by an armed force all collision between them . . . but the case of the Greeks and Turks is altogether peculiar. The allies have been compelled to interfere in the quarrel for the sake of their own subjects, and having assumed the language of superiority and placed themselves towards the Turks in the relation of dictators and not of advisers, what has taken place followed almost as a matter of course. Finding their prescriptions disregarded and the promises made to them violated, the Admirals were called upon to act on their instructions by adopting the means which were best calculated for preventing the collision of the belligerents."[2]

The *Courier*: "Events will prove that although we have not acted the sordid part assigned to us by the Quotidienne, sound policy has had its share in the proceedings. The true interests of the country have been studied and promoted by the decision come to on the Turkish Question, because the interests of England are identified with honour, justice, and humanity."[3]

Early in 1828 the *Times* says: "All parties

[1] November 14th, 1827. [2] November 14th, 1827.
[3] November 16th, 1827.

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wished to terminate the war; but England and her allies would end it by giving liberty to the Greek people—Austria by rivetting their chains. If, however, a question should arise between releasing Greece and aggrandizing Russia, it is plain how Austria would decide. . . . If she cannot prevent the seizure of the Principalities by Russia, she will imitate it by laying hold of Bosnia and Servia as a counterpoise. But can the Sultan be a barbarian so besotted as to incur these extremities of evil, instead of yielding while yet he may?"[1]

After Russia had declared war on Turkey, the *Times* disapproved of Russia's offensive action, and thought that it separated her from her allies. It also blamed Austria, saying, "she and her silly fantastical Minister have thoroughly disqualified themselves from taking any further part in these affairs. All would have been arranged long ago but for her."[2]

The *Morning Post* considers that by her recent conduct Russia has to all intents and purposes completely annihilated the Treaty of the 6th between England, France, and Russia; that though Russia may have received provocations, she should have, at least, consulted with her allies.[3]

The *Morning Chronicle* trusts "that Ministers will not allow themselves to be deluded by any supposed necessity of preserving Turkey as an independent state, and excluding the Russians from the Mediterranean, into a fresh war."[4]

The *Courier* asserts that there is not the least foundation for the French statement that England

[1] January 7th, 1828.
[2] March 18th, 1828.
[3] March 18th, 1828.
[4] March 11th, 1828.

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has any intention of withdrawing from the alliance with France and Russia, that the past conduct of Russia affords every security against any misunderstanding between the European Powers, and that a perfect understanding exists between France and England.[1]

The *Times* is strongly opposed to Lord Aberdeen, and calls him "a Tory of the order of Melchizedek, or rather he is something worse; the ultraism of Vienna grafted upon the Toryism of Scotland forms his creed."[2]

The newspapers at this period follow the principles of their parties closely, but on the whole the policy of the Government was supported by the opinions of the people, who were in sympathy with Greek Independence, and distrusted autocratic governments. The cries for a Reform of the Franchise, which had been heard at intervals for fifty years, now assumed a formidable character, and the chief political interest in the nation was directed towards that object.

[1] March 17th, 1828. [2] May 30th, 1828.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS—1830-1860

MANY important organs were started during this period.

The *Daily News* commenced in 1846, with Dickens as editor, and numbered among its contributors Harriet Martineau, George Hogarth, and M'Cullagh Torrens; the *Daily Telegraph* appeared in 1855, and the *Morning Star*, started by Messrs Cobden and Bright, existed from 1856 until 1870. Among the distinguished writers for the *Times*, under the editorship of Delane, were Disraeli as "Runnymede," Mr (now Sir) W. Vernon Harcourt as "Historicus," and Captain Sterling as "Vetus."

Section I.—The Reform Bill of 1832

The cause of Reform had been advocated by the Radical Press since the beginning of the century, and the *Political Register*, in 1811, considered that the two parties had "the same principles to all intents and purposes."

"There are some politicians who wish for a Reform of Parliament. These belong to neither of the other parties. If they were to increase, from them the people would expect something, and from them the Ministry would have something to fear, because they are not restrained by the system."[1]

[1] February 12th, 1811.

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In January 1817 this organ thus speaks: "What do we ask for other than our birthright? Magna Charta says that no man shall be taxed without his own consent, and that Parliament shall be annual. Lord Coke says that Magna Charta cannot be abrogated even by Act of Parliament. What do we seek for more than these? And because we ask these, are we to be considered as persons aiming at general confusion and destruction?"[1]

In 1830, the *Register* publishes a series of letters to La Revolution at Paris with the object of showing that the English nation has been made feeble by taxation caused by the "Public Debt, by a Standing Army, and by Pensions and Sinecures, and it will show that these have been occasioned by laws made by an hereditary aristocracy, and by a House of Commons not chosen by the people at large, but chosen by the aristocracy and the rich."[2]

After the Bill had been thrown out by the House of Lords in 1831, the greatest disturbances occurred all over the country, and no doubt many of the rioters, rendered desperate by bad harvests and poverty, honestly imagined that the extension of the franchise and the abolition of a few rotten boroughs would, in some inexplicable manner, remove all the causes of their trouble. But the responsible Ministers understood that the time for Reform had come, and that, if the House of Lords persisted in their opposition, the only way to overcome the difficulty was to persuade the King to create a sufficient number of new peers to outvote the Tories.

[1] Cobbett's "Political Works," vol. v. p. 112.
[2] *Political Register*, December 1830.

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The opinions of the Press at this time were as follows:—

The *Edinburgh Review*[1] argues that the English are naturally opposed to change, and always progress slowly and by the least alteration consistent with the necessity of the case, but that at the present time there is an almost unanimous demand among the middle and lower classes that the Commons should become a Representative Assembly, and representative of the Commons. The writer thinks the proposed change does not deserve the obnoxious term of revolution given to it by Robert Peel. "Laws which it might have been madness in one age not to make, it may be more mad to continue in the next," and laws must be altered to suit the development of society. He then quotes Burke's statement that a people have no abstract right to any certain form of government or representation. On the other hand, no nationalist can see any abstract right or wrong in any particular combination of political powers. The history of the House of Commons is a history of change. It is a matter of surprise and pain to us, that so many pastors of a Christian Church should have deemed it decent to make common cause with the rotten boroughs. "The revocation of that description of political franchise which it is necessary to demolish, in order to make room for our alterations, cannot be called an act of revolutionary injustice."

The *Quarterly Review*.[2]—"The revolution of the opinion of the community towards parliamentary reform is due to bad harvests and bad administration of the Poor Laws, causing the people to

[1] June 31st, art. x. [2] February 1831, art. viii., by Mr J. Fullerton.

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embrace any doctrine, however absurd or anti-social.

"But what is the cause of the revolution of opinion among the upper classes, if it exists? Is it love of revolution? Witness the terrible effects of revolution in the Spanish empire, in America, France, and other places. The answer is the dread of physical force aroused by three days at Paris. We appeal to moderate people not already carried away by visionary ideas. We want to know what are the important measures for the relief and advantage of the public which a reformed Parliament could effect, but which are beyond the competency of legislation as at present constituted. It cannot be the desire to effect economy, because the present Government is pledged to that. The reformed Parliament would not be more economical, because the people love war. We fear that the people's representatives will reflect the people's prejudices, and that there will be no one to protect them from themselves. We defend the purchasing of seats because many influential monied men live in London, and could not get a seat by local connection. The abolition of this custom involves the question of compensation to those holding freeholds with nomination of one or two members. The institution of the ballot, which would be the first act of the reformed Parliament, would only lead to bribery, on the condition that the member was elected." The moderate tone of the great Whig *Review* in favour of reform contrasts strongly with the violent opposition of the Tory organ, and we notice, in nearly all cases, that the tone of articles becomes more hostile as the time draws near when the measure opposed is certain to

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be adopted. The opinions of a few of the leading newspapers can be shown by quoting from them passages which show the general tenour of their tone throughout the first six months of the year 1832.

The *Spectator*.[1]—"The only other piece of news of the week—if we may call that news which is but a confirmation of what we announced some time ago as resolved on—is the gratifying visit of Earl Grey to Brighton. The business on which the noble Earl visits his Sovereign is, of course, the arrangement of that great measure of policy by which the Reform Bill is to be secured against any further delay from the factious obstinacy of a few interested or ignorant individuals. The creation of peers, now understood to be fully and finally arranged, has struck with utter dismay the organs of the Anti-Reformers."

The *Times* strongly supports the Bill, and on March 13th has a leading article urging that the Lords will never pass the Bill until "they have been reconstructed by the Crown as the Commons were by the people."

On June 8th, after the Bill had passed, it says, in reference to the fact that the King did not sign the Bill in person, but by commission, "The maxim of the Constitution that 'the king can do no wrong' must receive an inestimable improvement from the Reform Bill, inasmuch as the King's Ministers will henceforth be incapable of 'doing any wrong' in which the people shall not be sharers with them. It is, then, of little consequence, save to himself only, what may from this time forward be the

[1] January 7th, 1832.

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private opinions of an English king upon questions which concern the general welfare of the country."

The *Morning Herald* . . . trusts it will not be necessary to create new peers, and opines that "there are some indications of the state of the public mind at present from which a reasonable expectation to that effect may be drawn."[1] . . . Thinks that one effect of Reform will be to diminish the cost of elections.[2] . . . Hopes that Earl Grey will not exclude the inhabitants of the metropolis from the same treatment as Birmingham, Manchester, and Sheffield, by giving the latter a £5 and London a £10 franchise.[3] . . . Thinks that the creation of peers is a great evil, but that Ministers ought not to shrink from it if necessary.[4] . . . Attacks the Duke of Wellington for using the King's name in such a way as to lead the public to believe he was opposed to the measure, and believes the King is not hostile to Reform. "Thank God, the Reform Bill has at length passed."[5]

The *Standard*, January 2nd, 1832, describes itself as the organ of the Conservative party in its New Year's address, and speaks of Earl Grey's visit to Brighton with a list of new peers to pass the "revolution" bill. Opines that "up to the present" our Sovereign has been firm in respecting his duties to the Constitution.[6] . . . Does not believe the King will create peers, because that would mean a permanent Grey majority in the Upper House, and the virtual sacrifice of all Royal authority to Lord Grey.[7]

The *Globe* (the only acknowledged organ of the

[1] January 9th. [2] January 18th. [3] February 23rd. [4] March 12th. [5] June 5th. [6] January 3rd. [7] January 26th.

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Cabinet) congratulated its patrons upon "rising again in public estimation."[1] The King, it is said, has agreed to make twelve new peers.

The *Standard*, besides opposing the measure steadily in its leading articles, publishes letters signed "Conservative," arguing that all the literary ability and the intelligence of the country has ranged itself against the bill, but it nevertheless fears that new peers will be created.[2] Announces the new Ministry of the Duke of Wellington, and hints that his Grace will carry a Reform Bill of his own.[3] Lord Grey's Ministry return to office, and now it is certain that the Reform Bill will pass without the creation of peers.[4] The Bill is read a third time "in a House of 128 Lords (a thin House to sentence the Constitution). There were not a dozen noblemen to whom, by any courtesy, the name of honest disinterested Tories can be applied."[5]

The *Sun*.—"To the new Bill we are more reconciled the more we consider it, but it is not to be denied that the people have received it comparatively with apathy." We advise the Government not to waste time speaking, but to divide again and again.[6] We declare on competent authority that Earl Grey has received His Majesty's express commands to create as many new peers as may be deemed necessary to render the triumph of the Bill no longer a matter of doubt or uncertainty.[7] "This great sanatory measure will restore the old equilibrium of the Constitution. The borough-mongers are, indeed, King, Lords, and Commons."[8] They (the people) cannot but know that it is William the

[1] February 20th. [2] March 13th. [3] May 14th. [4] May 16th.
[5] June 5th. [6] January 21st. [7] January 24th. [8] April 17th.

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Reformer who has been the means of securing them this triumph.[1]

The *Birmingham Journal and General Advertiser*, after opining that Earl Grey had overcome the scruples of his Majesty as to the creation of peers, says: "This is as it should be, although we could have wished that this necessary measure had been earlier adopted. We do most confidently hope that the Ministers will not allow themselves to be defeated, and the cup now offered be again dashed from the lips of an expectant people."[2] "However opinion may be divided among certain classes of society in London, here there is no division, the dissentients and the indifferentists, if we may be allowed to coin a word, being so few as merely to establish the general proposition."[3]

The *Liverpool Albion*.—"The early triumph of the cause of reform is now certain, the King of his own free will, as much as by the advice of his Ministers, has determined to create a sufficient number of peers to ensure the success of the Reform Bill. The step is bold but it is strictly constitutional. It is the least of two evils between which the Government had to choose . . . the anti-reformers have brought the evil, if evil it be, on themselves by their own obstinacy and selfishness."[4]

The *Liverpool Chronicle* is glad the Upper House by its resistance has forced Earl Grey to create new peers; "for by the fresh accession of members to the Liberal side of the house, they will be outvoted not only on the present question, but on many others which will be brought before Parlia-

[1] June 5th. [2] January 7th. [3] April 14th. [4] January 9th.

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ment, and will be directly opposed to the views and interests of borough-mongers and political prelates."[1]

The *Manchester Courier* is opposed to the first Reform Bill and gives a half-hearted opposition to the second, although "we have always been favourable to the extension of the elective franchise to large towns. Much as we dislike the Bill in its present form, we are persuaded that no evil which it could inflict upon the country would be greater than an extraordinary stretch of the King's prerogative is calculated to produce." What stronger argument could a revolutionary House of Commons adduce against the utility of such a prerogative than that it is capable of rendering useless the deliberations of one branch of the legislature or of making the House of Lords a mere tool in the hands of the Ministers.[2]

The *Manchester Guardian* says: "The conductors of the *Guardian* have been the steady and zealous advocates of the great principles of that judicious and constitutional plan of reform which, under the auspices of the present Ministry, has been submitted to the consideration of the Legislature."[3]

The *Manchester Herald* speaking of the creation of peers says: "By every principle recognised by the Constitution of this country, the project of Ministers must be condemned and reprobated."[4]

We have quoted the newspapers on this question at some length in order to exemplify several of the characteristics of the period. Very little is said of the political dishonesty which the Bill would prevent, very little of the social rights of man, and

[1] January 14th, 1832. [2] January 14th. [3] January 7th. [4] January 10th.

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indeed very few reasons of any kind are given either for or against the measure. The chief point dwelt upon seems to have been the creation of peers, and here the majority of the organs agree that although it would be a deplorable step, yet, if necessary, it must be done. Through the medium of the Press the King would discover that Lord Grey would be supported by a large part of the educated portion of the community, and the Minister himself would feel that he had a strong following. The House of Lords would be impressed with the fact that the Englishman's natural conservatism and faith in the Constitution would not prevent his demand for reform when he desired it, and the people would be instructed that when a measure is demanded by Ministers, supported strongly by the House of Commons and the nation, it is the duty of the House of Lords to pass it, and, if it refuses, then it is the duty of the King to overpower the opposition by the creation of a sufficient number of peers.

But although the criticism of the Press on the merits of the Bill itself might modify its details, its chief permanent effect would be to teach King, Parliament, and people, the point at which constitutional development had at that period arrived.

Section II.—The Bedchamber Question: 1839

The *Spectator*.—"It is beside the real question to pretend that regard to the Queen's private friendships ought to bar a Minister from altering the composition of the Household. Her private friendships are in no way interfered with. If Her

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Majesty has a friendship for the Duchess of Sutherland, she may invite her to the palace every day: their social intercourse need not be interrupted for an hour in consequence of the appointment of another Mistress of the Robes. The Baroness Litzen may remain at the Palace as the Queen's friend though the Ministry were to change every week. Why? Because she holds no public office; performs no part of the State ceremonial, and is not paid, as the Duchess of Sutherland is, by the country, in order to keep up the dignity of the Court. If such facilities exist for private communication, why, it may be asked, make such a point of removing near connections of political opponents from the household? There are two reasons. First, to deny the power of appointing to the Household indicates a want of confidence in the Sovereign towards the Minister. It would undeniably be so deemed by the public, and, *pro tanto*, would weaken his Government. Secondly, the refusal deprives him of very valuable patronage. This reason has not been alleged, but that it exists is certain. With respect to the constitutional principle, we are informed that the highest living authority on such questions pronounces the Queen and her Ministers in the wrong. The Household appointments are State appointments, for State purposes, and for them the Minister is held responsible. This reason, if there were no other, is sufficient for placing the Household under his care. Sir Robert Peel's justification rests chiefly, after all, upon the reasonableness of the demand. It was most unreasonable to expect that he should acquiesce in the continuance of the wives and nearest relatives of his political enemies in public appointments of the

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first distinction, and great influence at the Queen's Palace." [1]

The *Times* blames Lord Melbourne for not filling the Queen's Household with such persons "as would be equally unconnected with, and equally unbiassed towards, his own Administration as to any by which it might be succeeded. He first fills the palace for his own selfish purposes with his own hot partisans, and then, when he thinks about quitting office himself, he has the effrontery to dissuade the Queen from suffering any other Minister to enjoy the same advantage which he has himself abused so grossly." [2]

The *Times* quotes from the *Kentish Observer*, a Tory and High Church paper, which is quite horror-struck at Sir Robert Peel having been baffled in his "attempt to construct a Conservative Administration —baffled by the pertinacious fancies of a young lady not yet out of her teens."

The *Morning Chronicle*.—"The indication of public interest and gratitude in relation to the Queen, which have followed so promptly upon her resistance of Tory tyranny, are multiplying themselves in all directions. The nation was unaware of the degrading bondage which Faction had prepared for the Sovereign, until she had by herself asserted her own rights and vindicated her freedom—the freedom to which she is entitled in common with the meanest of her subjects. The Tories cannot mystify the nation as to the monstrous character of their late attempt at unlimited power." [3]

The *Morning Advertiser*.—"The would-be Prime Minister has overshot the mark. His despotic feel-

[1] May 18th, 1839. [2] May 16th, 1839. [3] May 17th, 1839.

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ings got the better of his shrewdness, and the result is the deliverance for ever, we hope, of the Queen and the people of England from the fangs of a faction which would trample both in the dust." [1]

The only point of interest in this discussion is the obvious and gross exaggeration indulged in by some of the newspapers, and the ridiculous attempt to make party capital out of the question.

Section III.—The Repeal of the Corn Laws

The function of the Press at this period was to state and criticise in popular language the great theory of Free Trade, in order that every individual could, if he wished, form an intelligent opinion on the subject. At first, the natural opposition to any new policy, of which the necessity and probable benefits are not at once apparent to the most superficial observer, was strongly directed against the Anti-Corn Law League, and the *Morning Post* in 1839 violently opposed the Manchester School, while the *Times* three years later mocked the delegates for their presumption and impertinence. But the League soon established their own organs, besides issuing innumerable pamphlets and theses, which were distributed all over the country, and in these the Free-traders both defended themselves and carried the attack vigorously into the enemy's camp, criticising and satirising their principles, and advancing the most unanswerable arguments against the system of Protection. The most important was the *League*, a weekly review written in a quiet, serious, determined manner, with no

[1] May 16th, 1839.

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attempt to excite passion but with the hope of causing logical, philosophical thought. Many of the leaders were written by Messrs Cobden and Bright, and it contained reports of the Corn Law Debates in the House of Commons, reviews of works on political economy, hymns, songs, satire, and criticism of opponents.

The *Struggle*, established in 1842, was another small paper advocating Free Trade, but this was not connected with the Anti-Corn Law Association.

In course of time the regular Press joined in the discussion and the warfare became fierce and continual.

The *Quarterly Review*[1] "cannot believe that any compensation can be devised that would or ought to reconcile the agricultural interests of England to the abandonment of all protection." "An unrestricted introduction of foreign corn would in a few seasons reduce this proud and prosperous Empire, now the envy of the world, to a wretched dependence not merely on the seasons, but on the policy of Russia and Prussia, America or France."

"Two million acres will go out of cultivation, £12,000,000 will be drained from the agricultural income of England. Foreign countries will increase their export duties so that we shall contribute largely to their exchequers and not to our own.

"The sliding scale combines in its admirable operation the three great desiderata of corn legislation

(1) Great supply of food to people, without
(2) Injury to the farmers, and with
(3) A considerable advantage to the revenue.

We have to thank the League for this disturbance

[1] December 1845, art. xi., by Mr J. W. Croker.

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of our peace which avowedly employs its formidable capital to corrupt the constituent body, and avows its intention of forcing the Legislature by making fictitious votes.

"The short issue is

'Protection or no Protection,
Protection or Ruin to all.'"

This article was very severely criticised in the *League*, but the Tory *Review* steadily opposed the measure, and in September 1846, art. iv., accused Sir Robert Peel of being frightened by the League into his measure of Repeal.

The *Edinburgh Review*.[1]—"The simplicity and directness of the argument in favour of Free Trade ought indeed to secure it a ready acceptance in all countries where reason can make itself heard, and where sectional interests have not a complete ascendancy." It proceeds to point out that there are many evils recorded in history accruing from enforcing Protection against or giving it to the Colonies, for the Mother Country was compelled to buy bad Canadian timber instead of good Baltic, and the Colonists themselves were forced into the timber trade when they were much more suited for agriculture, but each Colony is a separate and distinct community, occupying a distinct territory and ought to enjoy as much power of Local Government as is compatible with the supremacy of the British Crown. "England ought not to subject trade to restrictions for her own exclusive advantage, and neither ought to expect direct compensation for her military expenses or levy at home

[1] July 1846, art. x.

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discriminating duties for the supposed benefit of the Colonies."

The *Spectator*, January 3rd, 1846, condemns the Anti-Corn Law party for wishing for immediate repeal, irrespective of the effects on the farmers and the dangers of a panic. "It never occurs to him (the Leaguer), that as all things have their season, so, now, when success is clearly within his reach, the time has come for avoiding risks and employing facilities—for helping on, by every conceivable aid, that conclusion which nothing can prevent, nor anything long delay, save the desperation of the party which is yielding. There are Leaguers who appear bent on making the agriculturists desperate."

On January 24th it argues that corn laws are not necessary for farmers, and have not worked well for them. "If it is easy to show that there is no real danger in repealing the Corn Laws, it is far easier to demonstrate that there is a great and imminent danger in maintaining them."

The *Times* gradually becomes converted, and at the end of 1845 opines that just as the Catholic Relief and Reform Bills became necessary in their day, so now has the repeal of the Corn Laws, because of "the long-continued rejection of qualified concessions,"[1] but thinks people will be disappointed at the result. In the following year, after Sir Robert Peel had indicated that he would bring in some measure, and meetings were being held all over the country in favour of repeal, the *Times* argued that the removal of protective duties had invariably increased the consumption, and often the price of the

[1] December 8th, 1845.

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article, to which they were intended to give an artificial value.

The *Chronicle* and the *Weekly Despatch* also supported Sir Robert Peel.

The *Morning Post*.—"Time alone prevents us from extracting further proofs of the spirit that now pervades the agricultural body; of the unanimity that actuates them in their opposition to any tampering with the protection of native industry; and of the strong persuasion by which they are possessed—that treachery is the weapon by which there is too much reason to fear they will be attacked." [1]

After the Bill had passed the Lords, it says: "The House of Lords has, by its votes on the corn question, abdicated its privileges as an independent estate. Our existing theory of government is a fraud. That theory assumes the government to be vested in Kings, Lords, and Commons. England has long lost her Monarchy, and the House of Lords has at length openly sunk beneath the encroachments of the Lower House." [2]

The *Morning Herald* supports the tariff of 1842, and thinks it ought to be retained as it stands.

It is, perhaps, safe to say that of all political organs, *Punch* has as great an effect on the minds of its readers as any. It is therefore of interest to briefly describe the cartoons of the period.

(1) J. Russell on racehorse with winning post Free Trade: "Never mind losing first heat; go in and win."

(2) Peel standing in the door of a bread shop: "Peel's Cheap Bread Shop, open January 22nd, 1846."

[1] January 1st, 1846.

[2] June 26th, 1846.

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(3) British Lion, grown enormously fat: "The British Lion in 1850 or the effects of Free Trade."

(4) Small figure, with enormous pair of seven-leagued boots: "The seven-leagued boots, and death of Giant Monopoly."

(5) Picture of several old washer-women coroneted, mangling a roll of cloth, inscribed, "Corn Bill": "The Lords 'getting up' the Corn Bill."

(6) Peel as maid of all work, and Cobden as baker delivering bread: "Well, Richard Cobden, they've been and given me warning, and I shall lose my place through talking to you."

In the provinces the newspapers were delivering the most adverse opinions on the subject. As an instance, we will quote the *Norfolk News*: "The Protectionists are meeting all over the country, but the speeches delivered reveal nothing but the perplexity, alarm, and indignation of the Corn Law landlords."[1]

The *Norfolk Chronicle* on the same day says: "The advocates for a repeal of the Corn Laws have absolutely failed in demonstrating the evil tendency of the enactments they condemn, and have as egregiously failed in their attempt to prove that any benefit would take place from their repeal." Then follow the usual local protectionist arguments that if corn is cheap, farmers and labourers would have less money to spend in the shops of Norwich, while foreigners would probably not demand more of our manufacturers if we bought their corn. In the large towns opinions are also divided.

The *Manchester Examiner* says: "The Free Trade movement of the past seven years has done much

[1] January 3rd, 1846.

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towards abolishing the sway of party spirit and party names. It is a movement altogether of, from, and by the people for a popular object";[1] while the *Manchester Courier* thinks "it is high time that vulgar and illiterate and impudent persons who have suddenly amassed wealth under the *protection* of the Constitution, should be taught that they will not be permitted to turn that wealth to the *destruction* of the Constitution."[2]

The *Birmingham Journal* states: "If any man talked of protecting our buttons, or our hardware, or our saddlery, or our toys against the rivalry of France and Germany, he would be hooted from the Bull Ring to the Town Hall. All we want is fair competition in the world's markets, and so far as this is insured by Sir Robert Peel's measures, they deserve, and shall have, our firm support."[3]

The *Liverpool Courier* opines that "the abolition of the Corn Laws would be almost as injurious to the British shipping interest and to the British Colonies as to the British agriculturist."[4]

Now, stripped of the interpretation which class interests forced into the question, the arguments at this period undoubtedly educated the people and caused them to use their own judgment on the greatest question in political economy of modern times. From the subtle reasoning, based on history and logic, of the two great *Reviews* to the county newspapers, which naturally appealed to the direct effect of repeal on their readers, and to the provincial town organs, which also gave a local colouring to their examples, all would tend to educate the minds

[1] January 10th, 1846. [2] January 7th, 1846. [3] January 31st, 1846. [4] January 7th, 1846.

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of those who were taught nothing of the science of economy at school, and had no other opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of national finance, except from the newspapers. The great function of the newspapers, then, at this period, was to educate the people.

Section IV.—Chartism

In 1848 we had an excellent and fortunately rare example of a newspaper, which deliberately attempted to advance its principles by rousing the passions of the people. The principles themselves may have been, for the most part, unobjectionable, but the manner of stating them could only lead to evil. We give an example of the usual style of the *Northern Star*.

Northern Star, April 1st, 1848:

> THE MOVEMENT.
> THE CHARTER.
> AND NO SURRENDER.
> UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.
> VOTE BY BALLOT.
> NO PROPERTY QUALIFICATION.
> ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS.
> PAYMENT OF MEMBERS.
> EQUAL ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

In an article on the French Revolution of this year the *Northern Star* thus speaks. "Look on that picture and on this—A great people winning in two days the charter of their liberties from the hands of false rulers; in the midst of slaughter and excitement acting out the poetry of religion;

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another people, once great, grovelling in misery and debt at the feet of the feeblest Government which ever plundered and disgraced these realms. A nation must be lost indeed which does not profit by the mighty lessons which have just been read to the world."[1]

On March 25th this organ sent an address from the "Fraternal Democrats (assembling in London) to the people of Paris" commencing "Heroic Brother Citizens," and congratulating them on nipping bourgeois conspiracy in the bud.[2] The strong language of this newspaper is well shown by its description of the Treason Act as "A base, bloody and brutal Bill."[3]

The rest of the organs are unanimous in condemning any attempt to use force, but do not, for the most part, absolutely oppose the demands of the Chartists.

The *Quarterly Review*,[4] referring to the agitation of Irish Home Rulers and Chartists, says: "Repeal in Ireland and Chartism in England have been most essentially altered in character by the revolutions on the Continent. We therefore think that, for offences become by circumstances so much more formidable, the law should obtain an increase of power adequate to the increase of danger; and designs against the public peace should be made punishable in their earliest stages, and not allowed to grow to a head that requires the extraordinary interference of either troops or special constables."

Proceeding to discuss the French Revolution, the article continues: "If universal suffrage, a single legislative authority, a triennial parliament; and

[1] April 1st. [2] March 25th. [3] April 15th, 1848.
[4] June 1848, art. x., by Mr J. W. Croker.

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a quadriennial president shall be found permanently, and after a fair trial in all weathers, compatible with security of life, liberty, and property—with peace abroad and peace at home, and with the moral and social requirements of a civilised people—this result coming in aid of the more dubious precedent of the United States, would deprive Monarchy of most of what we have always thought and still believe its peculiar—not to say its exclusive—merit as a form of government." If on the contrary this new revolution should turn out no more satisfactory than its precursors, "it will have been written for our warning as well as theirs."

The *Edinburgh Review*.[1]—"It may be inferred, we think, from the general tenour of our political opinions, that we are no great enemies to projects of reform; though we must express our distrust of many of these changes, organic in their nature, and proposed for instant adoption, which have been recently propounded. But what we chiefly lament is the tone which has now and then been assumed by some of their most respectable advocates, to the effect that if such and such reform be refused or delayed a revolution is inevitable.

". . . Now we strongly object to the use, in a country like this, and with such constitutional remedies as ours, of any expressions which imply that the middle classes, the aristocratic classes, the working classes, or any partial combinations of classes have the right to dictate reforms, with revolution for the alternative; and, still more, their right to say when these reforms have been pertinaciously refused."

[1] October 1848, art. iii.

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It proceeds, that it hopes nations will speedily learn that armed revolutions do not pay, and opines that few think the French insurrection of 1848 was a wise or exemplary proceeding, and objects to revolutions because there is no centre of gravity, and nothing but brute force either for guileless patriotism or arbitrary ambition.

"Even granting, for the sake of argument, that those changes—Universal Suffrage for instance—were in the abstract desirable, and really preferable to our present system, we should say, paradoxical as it may seem, that it would be unwise to attempt their instant accomplishment, because all the greatest thinkers and statesmen agree that changes should be gradual and continuous, and the spirit of the nation must be prepared for them."

After the fiasco on Kennington Common the Press indulged in unbridled ridicule.

The *Spectator*.[1]—"The adventures of Monday were a great lesson to the Chartists and their more turbulent allies among the working classes. They had challenged the Government and the friends of order to a trial of strength; and their own display was a pitiable exposure of weakness.

"Of the genuine Chartists, we believe that they are, on the whole, the élite of the working men—the most intelligent, the best informed, the most inspired by a manly ambition. The doctrines they uphold are not absolutely irrational; but we will venture to say that something very far short of the 'six points' would disarm all the bitterness of the true Chartist. If he saw in the Legislature any sincere disposition to consider the interests, the

[1] April 15th, 1848.

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opinion, and the wishes of the working classes, he would be satisfied."

The *Times*.—"When we urged upon the Government and the metropolis the wisdom of an overpowering and conclusive display against the threateners of the brand and the sword, we were careful to observe that such a course, being the duty and interest of all, compromised the opinions of none, and that every point of the 'Charter' was a fair subject of discussion. That language we have ever held, and well we know that if we forget it we should be forgotten by this country.

"A new move has been made by fifty Radical members, comprising extension of suffrage, equitable arrangement of taxation, and a reduction of expenditure. We are prepared to 'go along with these gentlemen' on the first and third questions, but are a little doubtful about the second. 'They have only to announce not so much a project as a definite line of action, and they will at once take the wind from mischievous and disorderly Chartist agitation, and secure the concurrence of a large and respectable party.'" [1]

Punch, January to June 1848:—

(1) Picture of British working men with huge roll inscribed Charter calling at house. Small butler says—"My mistress says she hopes you won't call a meeting of her creditors, but if you will leave your bill in the usual way, it shall be properly attended to." Not so very unreasonable! Eh?

(2) Man carrying trunk with words on it—

[1] April 17th, 1848.

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Reduced Expenditure; Extension of Suffrage; Redress of Grievances. *Punch*, as special constable, says: "Now, young fellow, these are not times for loitering. If you don't keep moving, you and I shall fall out."

(3) British lion in cage; Lord John Russell, keeper; *Punch* with budget of Chartists' demands.

J. Russell—"Hullo, I have been asleep. Why, what's o'clock."

Punch—"O, I'll let you know what's o'clock! It's high time he was fed; and these are the things to give him."

(4) Magistrate sitting at desk; seedy-looking agitator standing before him—

Mob Orator—"Tell me, Minion; is it the intention of your proud masters at all hazards to prevent our demonstrations."

Magistrate (blandly)—"Yes, sir."

Mob Orator—"Then know, Oh Myrmidon, of the brutal Whigs, that I shall go home to tea, and advise my comrades to do the same."

Most of the Liberal organs in the country are inclined to agree with some of the demands of the Charter, but all of them ridicule the occurrences attending the meeting on Kennington Common and the monster petition; while the Conservative organs talk of special constables and oak cudgels. Probably the chief effect of the Press at this period was to instil the great principle that in England we advance slowly and steadily, and that forcible revolutionary actions will not only be suppressed by force, but will also alienate all sympathy from the cause advocated.

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Section V.—The Crimean War

The main point we wish to demonstrate in the relation of the Press influence to the action of the Government at this period is the spontaneous and unanimous demand for war which followed the battle of Sinope. Before that event the popular sentiment had been moderate and calm in a high degree. "It was first thrown into excitement by the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope; which being simply a military coup, was under some unknown code of sentiment branded as a massacre."[1] The *Quarterly Review*[2] explains at length the attempt of Russia to restore the powers of the Greek bishops and priests in Turkey, and thus preserve all the abuses "which the reforms promulgated by the Porte and urged upon it by England and France as the only means of conciliating its Christian subjects and of preserving its existence as an Empire are intended to remove. It is obvious that such claims as these could not for a moment be admitted, and that we are as much called upon to resist them for the sake of the balance of power in Europe and of civilisation, as Turkey is obliged to do for the preservation of her very existence."

The *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1854, art. viii., thinks that the chief cause of the troubles in Turkey is the Koran, the fundamental law of the Empire. "The Christian populations of the east have no intention to change one oppressive form of government for another; and though they may borrow the aid of the Russians to shake off

[1] Gladstone's "Gleanings of past years," vol. i. p. 113.
[2] December, 1853, art. viii., by Mr H. Lagord.

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the yoke of the Turks, they are not more disposed to be the subject of the Czar than of the Sultan." If Russia continues aggressive we must make war "for preserving the equilibrium of Europe and for guarding against a dangerous extension of the European dominions of Russia."

These brief abstracts exemplify the spirit which the leading politicians of the day wished to inculcate among the thoughtful of the nation. How far the religious question, and how far the accepted doctrine that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire must be maintained in order to ensure the balance of power in Europe affected them it is difficult to say.

The cartoons in *Punch* at the end of 1853 and the beginning of 1854 well represent the gradual development of feeling, and will serve to recall the history of the period to the reader's mind.

(1) The Russian bear in full dress uniform covered with the imperial Crown and holding his head. The face has a look of pain. "A bear with a sore head."

(2) Lord Aberdeen, as a circus performer, standing on two horses draped with the union jack and driving a team of others labelled Austria, Russia, Turkey, all of which are pulling in different directions.

Punch, in private box to her Majesty: "Really, this is very slow."

"Aberdeen in his unpopular Act of the Courier at St Petersburg."

(3) Lord Aberdeen sitting on a keg of gunpowder smoking the pipe of peace.

(4) Lord Aberdeen, as a policeman, leaning sullenly against a wall and Mr Punch touching him with his stick and pointing to a street row.

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A—b—n. "I shan't interfere till they call murder."

(5) A large amount of snow, labelled public opinion, falling from a housetop on to Lord Aberdeen and crushing his hat.

"The compliments of the season to my Lord Aberdeen."

After Sinope

(6) A French and English Admiral carrying a Turkish officer in a Sedan chair and a Russian officer in the distance saying—"Well, as long as they help him like that I don't mind." Oughtn't the Turk to be much obliged to his kind friends for their prompt and generous assistance?

(7) A jack tar in the midst of a fierce naval battle proceeding to load a gun. "Salute the Rooshians? Aye, aye, Sir."

(8) Lord Aberdeen trying to hold back the British Lion, which is depicted with mane and tail erect struggling furiously to free itself. What it has come to. Aberdeen—"I must let him go."

After the battle of Sinope, the *Times*, which had hitherto been rather on the side of the Peace Party, thus speaks: "Having exhausted every means that forbearance and ingenuity could suggest for the restoration of peace, but having at the same time pledged the honour and the naval forces of England to bring this dispute to a successful termination by other means, if all negotiations for peace should fail, it would be unworthy of the position we occupy in the world, and the peculiar obligations we have contracted in this question to hesitate when the course is clear before us. . . . The Emperor of Russia,

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who began this war without a pretext, is carrying it on without disguise, and it therefore becomes the imperative duty of the four Powers, who have so recently recorded their determination to put an end to it, to take all the measures which that object may demand." [1]

"The Cabinets of France and England were never more thoroughly agreed upon the course it has become necessary to pursue, and the fleets of the two nations are probably all ready in the Black Sea to give effect if necessary to the additional instructions they will shortly receive." [2]

The *Spectator*.—"The cause of the present war, and the origin of the quarrel, are distinct things. The quarrel began, as we have already said, with the French squabble about holy places; but the cause, the only cause, the well understood cause, why England and France take up arms to resist Russia, is the arbitrary and lawless perseverance of that Power in asserting rights over an independent empire, and treating that empire as if it were her own." [3]

The *Daily News* blames the Government and the *Times* for not having their eyes open earlier, and takes credit to itself for having always called for firm armed intervention although it hates war.[4]

The *Morning Post*.—"It is time indeed that we should be roused to action, if we are to prevent the recurrence of similar disasters (Sinope); and there can hardly exist a doubt that the admirals with their forces will have by this entered, and are now in full command of the Black Sea." [5]

[1] December 13th. [2] December 24th. [3] February 25th, 1854.
[4] December 14th. [5] December 14th.

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The *Morning Chronicle.*—"Justice is sometimes, as in the present instance, supported by superior force. The Emperor of Russia has been plainly told that, whatever delay or reserve may be imposed on the great Powers by their anxious and avowed solicitude for peace, the war shall not terminate in that territorial aggrandisement which probably formed his only motive for disturbing the general tranquillity." [1]

The provincial Press sings the same song; we will quote from half a dozen organs selected at random.

The *Bristol Gazette.*—"This proceeding on the part of Russia alters the position of affairs; hitherto the Czar has protested that he was only pursuing a defensive course in his occupation of the principalities, but this attack on the Turkish navy is directly aggressive, and must call the allies of that Power into action." [2]

Birmingham Mercury.—"Our wooden walls lie idle before Constantinople, while the very wrong is being done which they were sent to prevent. Verily, we are unserviceable allies; verily, we are worthless protectors; verily, we are a degraded nation." [3]

Liverpool Chronicle.—"This incident is of the highest political importance. It is difficult to conceive any common agreement of the four Powers which would not embrace such an eventuality 'as that of an attack of the Russians upon the coasts of the Sultan's territories.'" [4]

Manchester Guardian.—"It never should be

[1] December 14th. [2] December 14th. [3] December 17th. [4] December 17th.

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forgotten that a time will come when all nations of the world, and all the people who belong to them, will forget their old hostilities and forgive every peculiarity which is indigenous to any soil. It is not the way to secure this result to allow an ambitious emperor to absorb nations and make the world his footstool." [1]

Newcastle Guardian.—"Surely these events will quicken the apathetic, the culpably slow movements of the Sultan's allies. We have now war in earnest, and unless France and England take the field at once, there is no hope for the Ottoman Empire." [2]

Trewman's Exeter Flying Post.—"If England be really in earnest, her guns must take the place of 'notes,' and her warriors supersede diplomatists." [3]

Such language as this, spoken in every quarter of the kingdom, would have at once two distinct effects; it would inform the people that war was absolutely necessary and inevitable, and it would tell the Ministers that the nation insisted on war. So here we have perhaps the best example in history of the Press forming public opinion, and at the same time forcing Ministers to act upon the sentiment which it had itself created. Without wishing to criticise either the policy which forced war upon us, or the subsequent results, we are entitled to declare that the action of the Press stimulated the action of the Cabinet, and stopped the shilly-shallying policy which had for so long been pursued.

[1] December 28th. [2] December 17th. [3] December 22nd.

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CHAPTER IX

THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS—1860-1899

Section I.—Present Condition

THE great increase in the political power of the Press during the last third of the century is chiefly due to three causes—(1) the abolition of the Stamp Duties, which was enacted in 1861, enables publishers to bring the price of newspapers within the reach of the slenderest purse; (2) compulsory education, instituted in 1870, ensures that everyone can read them; and (3) the Franchise Acts of 1867 and 1884 permit the readers to register their opinions at the polling booths. But the influence of the Press is always so intermingled with other forces, *e.g.* the characters of statesmen, the exigencies of party politics, and the thoughts and passions of the public, that it is impossible to isolate and weigh it in a balance as a chemist is able to recover and accurately estimate every ingredient in the most complex mixture. The first and chief function of the Press is, of course, to collect and disseminate news of events, negotiations and speeches, for the knowledge of Imperial politics possessed by the public is practically limited to the information acquired from the newspapers, but we are not concerned here with the subject of reporting, and we will dismiss it with the observation that the speed and accuracy with which it is performed is one of the most remarkable of the phenomena of modern civilisation.

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The number of newspapers, magazines, reviews and periodicals published in the United Kingdom has increased with extraordinary rapidity, until, in the present year, it reaches the total of about 5000, of which rather more than half are newspapers.

But not only has the number increased but the size also, so that, whereas in 1887 the total number of printed pages supplied by the daily Press in London was 1000, in 1897 there were 1700, or an increase of over 60 per cent.[1]

Several periodicals and reviews have been started which deal largely with political subjects, of which the chief are the *Contemporary*, established in 1866, the *Fortnightly* in 1865, the *Nineteenth Century* in 1877, and the *National* in 1883. Of the best known newspapers, the *Pall Mall Gazette* started in 1865, and the *Echo* in 1868, the *Daily Mail* being the youngest of all.

In London there are now 21 morning and 11 evening dailies, and their political complexion is as follows: Neutral, 11; Independent, 5; Unionist, 4; Conservative, 5; Liberal, 4; Radical, 2; Anti-Radical, 1.

An analysis of the political opinions of the provincial dailies gives the following result: Morning dailies—Independent, 28; Liberal, 28; Conservative, 14; Neutral, 10; National, 2. Evening dailies — Liberal, 51; Conservative, 28; Independent, 23; Neutral, 11; Unionist, 1.

In Ireland there are 7 Conservative, 7 Liberal, 3 National, 2 Independent, and 1 Neutral dailies.[2]

Besides these, there are a large number of

[1] Speech by Lord Rosebery. *Times*, May 4th, 1899.

[2] Compiled from the "Newspaper Press Directory," 1899.

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newspapers published once, twice, or three times a week.

The number of individuals described in the Census of 1891 as journalists, authors, and editors is 5111 males and 660 females; and 2374 males and 127 females are described as reporters or shorthand writers; but a large number of contributors to reviews and newspapers—especially to the more serious ones—could not describe themselves as professional writers. The anonymity of the Press is one of the chief causes of its strength, for the arguments and principles advocated must be judged entirely on their merits, and the "faith in authority" element is entirely absent.

But although many political articles are written by private gentlemen whose names would carry no weight with the public, and whose connection with the Press is often not suspected by their most intimate friends, many others would undoubtedly exert a greater influence if their authors' names were known. Nevertheless, at the present time the editors and writers of the leading London dailies have a greater power to influence the policy of the Government than any body of men outside the Cabinet, and the combined action of the Press is nearly as important as that of the House of Commons. The Press may be regarded as fulfilling politically three important functions. (1) It acts as a critic of Governments; (2) it instructs both the Government and the world at large as to the condition of the public mind at home and abroad; (3) it explains to the people what the action of the Government means and how it should be received, organises and represses waves

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of popular emotion, and explains the arguments for and against the measures submitted for decision at elections.

We need not dwell on the function of the Press as a reflector of public opinion for two reasons. First, because we are only dealing here with the influence of the Press, and secondly, because the reading public are far more influenced in political matters by their newspapers than are the editors by the opinions of the people. Indeed, it is almost impossible, except on occasions of great excitement, when meetings are held all over the country, for an editor to know what his readers do think on any particular question, although he may form an accurate idea of the general principles which they embrace.

Lord Palmerston, who was steadily attacked by the *Times* throughout his early career at the Foreign Office, thus writes: "Though the *Times* does, and intends to do much mischief, yet that mischief is often very temporary and much limited. That paper often takes a line in hopes of being followed by public opinion, but when it finds that public opinion goes another way, it changes its career and follows public opinion."

We have not space here to examine the influence of the Press in forming the popular opinion of the characters of eminent men, and suffice it to say that nearly every public personage has complained at some time of being treated unfairly. But there is no doubt that the Press, as a rule, confines itself to criticism of the actions of which it has certain knowledge, and rarely ventures to impute motives to anyone.

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As political organs, the newspapers remain fairly constant to the party they support, but on questions of national importance, such as the Crimean War and the Home Rule Bill of 1885, nearly the whole of them may incline one way. We must therefore allow for bias on most occasions, although the chief journals at the present time show greater independence of party than at any other period. Again, we must remember that the ordinary individual, as a rule, reads only the one newspaper which is the organ of his party, and therefore the power of the Press to make converts is greatly diminished. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to remark that the circulation of a newspaper does not to any great degree depend upon its politics, for, whereas the *Times* possesses the most political weight, the *Daily Telegraph*, being written in a light chatty style, has the greatest circulation. Many evening newspapers are bought in order to discover the latest winner, or the results of football and cricket matches, but all of them devote some space to notes on important political events, and it is these short remarks which are likely to be read and remembered, and handed on in conversation.

We must also remember that all the organs are entirely dependent upon their subscribers and advertisements, and are not now in any way subsidised by the Government. The leading writers of politics for the Press are usually men who are either practising politicians or who are frequently in the society of politicians, and in many cases they have had experience of reporting debates.

They are independent both of party whips and of constituents, and since the circulation of the news-

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papers to which they contribute usually depends upon other considerations than their articles, they are allowed a fairly free hand by the editors so long as they uphold the general principles professed by the journal.

We have in the last two chapters drawn attention chiefly to the function of the Press as a political educator, and as a creator of public sentiment, which influences the action of Ministers, and here we intend to examine more especially its direct criticism on governmental actions, and the resulting effects on ministerial policy at home and abroad, and on public opinion as evinced at general elections and other times.

It is obviously impossible to estimate the exact influence of the Press on ministerial action, unless its opinions are almost unanimous, but we can give a few examples in which the influence and the resulting action can be absolutely connected together.

As an example of the Press criticising the details of a measure while it was debated in the House of Commons, we will take the Reform Bill of 1867; as an example where the Press showed a general non-political approval, the Education Act of 1870; and as an example of an almost unanimous condemnation of a ministerial scheme, the Home Rule measure of 1886. Finally, we will discuss the influence of the Press on questions of foreign affairs.

Section II.—The Reform Bill of 1867

The *Times* has no sympathy either for lawlessness or attempts to overawe the Legislature by a display of thousands of working men in a "demon-

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stration," but does not agree with coercion, and thinks it was a mistake to close the gates of Hyde Park on July 23rd, 1866.[1] But that the working men, under the guidance of the Reform League, took a more intelligent interest in the proceedings than usual is proved by a meeting held a year later "to protest against the attempt of the House of Lords to rob the lodger of his franchise."

Throughout the whole period during the discussion of the Bill, the Press criticises clause after clause, even to the most minute details.

The *Times* is in favour of cumulative voting. "As we recognise the dangers to liberty and good government involved in the transformation of the House of Commons into an assembly of members elected by the majority of votes of large constituencies, we protest against the infatuation of disregarding the true method of reconciling the law of progress with the preservation of the representative character of the House of Commons." It proceeds to advise "Mr Adderly and those who are of his opinion to examine seriously the novelty of cumulative voting which he denounced last night."[2]

The *Edinburgh Review* attacks Mr Bright's methods outside the House of Commons and his communistic speeches. Argues that the Bill of last session, *i.e.* Russell's Bill, did not admit the unenfranchised to a preponderating share of power, and did not give supremacy "to incompetent numbers over property and intelligence, even assuming that all the strata of society below the

[1] July 24th, 1866. [2] *Times*, July 2nd, 1867.

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£10 occupiers are impenetrable to reason and to moral influences." The writer agrees with Mr Gladstone "that every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness or of political danger is morally entitled to come within the pale of the Constitution."[1]

The *Quarterly Review* says: "As we write, the House of Commons finds itself in the strange predicament of having to choose between the Radical policy of a Conservative leader, and the less violent proposals of Mr Gladstone and Mr Bright. Whatever its issue there is yet no cause for despondency, far less for despair. Never was there a period in which real Conservative principles were more firmly rooted in the hearts and minds of the great body of the people."[2]

The *Saturday Review* thinks that "in its main design and general scope it is a very good Bill. With household suffrage in boroughs, a £12 rating franchise in countries and a £10 qualification for lodgers, everyone will have a vote who can desire or use a vote properly, and several hundred thousands will have votes who can do neither."[3]

The *Spectator*, on the other hand, thus speaks: "As far as we can see, almost wherever it is effective in the one direction, it is just where it ought to have been effective in the other. Where the 'guarantee' may perhaps work to secure the middle class in their present supremacy, it is where the working class is most intelligent, and might most beneficially command the constituency, where the 'popular privilege' is most effectually conferred, it is where

[1] January 1867, art. ix. [2] April 1867, art. xi. [3] July 13th, 1867.

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the people on whom it is conferred will be most likely to abuse it."[1]

The *Daily News* contents itself with the statement that what is good in the Bill has come from Mr Gladstone. Throughout the country the Conservatives accept the Bill in a half-hearted way, while the Liberals openly exult at the acceptance of their doctrines by their opponents. The action of the Press during 1866 and the following year, combined with the agitation of the Reform League, clearly proved to Ministers that the country would have no fancy franchise but a clear, open and straightforward measure, based on broad democratic principles. Mr Gladstone's modifications of the Conservative Bill were, in most cases, supported by the political organs of both sides, and everyone was greatly relieved when the measure became law.

Section III.—The Education Bill of 1870

This Bill was not accompanied by any great amount of excitement in the country, and was received by the Press generally with approval.

The *Quarterly Review.*—"Let us say of it, that it seems to have been conceived in a generous and manly spirit and intended to give *effect* to the public will on a question in respect to which the public has had a large experience, and on which it has made up its mind." It agrees that compulsory attendance is necessary but says: "The Conservative party is ready to accept other provisions of the Bill which it cannot be expected to view with favour, but only as the condition of this—

[1] March 9th, 1867.

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that in making secular instruction universal the place of religion in our schools shall remain undisturbed."[1]

The *Saturday Review* supports the Bill and states that "In its frank recognition of voluntary and denominational schools, the Bill approximates to the principle of the Education Union; in its recognition of rates and compulsion, it is at one with the Education League; in its mode of dealing with the religious difficulty, it occupies a middle point between the two."[2]

The *Spectator* opines that "the Education Bill has all the criteria of a perfect measure."[3]

The only point of contention was that of religious or secular instruction, and on this point the Press, in most cases, followed the party leaders, but on the whole conveys the impression that it was not in favour of any sectarian or dogmatic religious instruction.

Section IV.—Home Rule

Never in history has a statesman received such an unqualified rebuff as did Mr Gladstone in 1886. Not only did his chief supporters secede from his party, but practically the whole of the London, and most of the provincial Press, condemned his Home Rule scheme in unqualified terms.

Mr Justin M'Carthy states that seven years previously Mr Gladstone suggested to him, through the medium of Mr James Knowles, that he should write an article in one of the great London reviews, putting the case for Home Rule fairly before the

[1] April 1870, art. vi. [2] February 19th, 1870. [3] February 19th, 1870.

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English public.[1] In December, 1880, Mr M'Carthy published an article in the *Nineteenth Century* entitled, "Ireland in '48 and Ireland now." This article is a short history of the agitation in 1848 and the land legislation since, but it only vaguely hints at Home Rule towards the end of the article.

But however long Mr Gladstone had been studying the question, there can be no doubt his conversion came as a great surprise to most people, and it was not until March 5th, 1886, that the Press Association stated, "on the most reliable authority," that Mr Gladstone would make some proposal to Parliament with regard to Home Rule for Ireland pure and simple. On the 13th a Cabinet Council was held, in which the scheme was unfolded, and Lord Hartington at once resigned, and Messrs Chamberlain and Trevelyan followed suit, but were asked to reconsider the question.

On April 8th Mr Gladstone brought in his scheme in the House of Commons. Its main points were: (1) that the Irish Members were not to sit in the Imperial Parliament; (2) that the Irish Parliament was to have complete control over the internal taxation, but (3) that the Customs and Excise were to be collected by officers of the Imperial Government.

At once the scheme was most violently attacked on all sides, but we will first quote from the *Daily News*, which possesses the proud distinction of being the only London morning newspaper which supported Mr Gladstone, although its tone was by no means eulogistic or congratulatory:

"The details of the measure are open to large

[1] "The Story of Gladstone's Life," Justin M'Carthy, p. 324.

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modifications in committee; but its principle is that of reconciling local freedom with Imperial unity. How far it succeeds in doing this opinions will necessarily differ; but there will be no opinion as to its largeness and completeness as a Magna Charta of the Irish people. We trust that they may so regard it, and that Mr Gladstone may have the supreme privilege of crowning the great work of his life by once and for ever reconciling the Irish people to the English connection, by showing to them that the unity of the Empire is compatible with that self-government for which they long."[1]

The *Times* says: "Mr Gladstone's Home Rule scheme already stands decisively condemned by the public opinion of the country."[2]

This was no mere general statement, for we find that not only did the whole of the Conservative Press oppose the Home Rule scheme, but the most important of the Liberal organs also. The *Daily Chronicle* and the *Pall Mall*, in London, and such important provincial Liberal papers as the *Birmingham Daily Post*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Scotsman*, the *Glasgow Herald*, the *Northern Whig*, Belfast, the *Londonderry Standard*, strongly objected to the scheme. Even some of the Nationalist organs, the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Belfast Morning News*, for example, grumbled at the financial clauses.

The chief objections to the scheme can conveniently be stated by quotations from the newspapers during the early part of the year and before the general election in July.

[1] April 9th, 1886.

[2] April 10th, 1886.

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The *Saturday Review*.—"Taxed without representation, carefully excluded from any share in the management of the Empire, yet managed and restricted and confined in every direction by the Imperial Government, with the taxgatherer always at the doors collecting rent, and with the agreeable memory that the rent is paid to what has ostentatiously proclaimed itself a foreign Government, in which Ireland has no voice and which has, as far as it dared, washed its hands of her, it is impossible to imagine a creation of the political dreamer so mischievous, so anomalous, so humiliating to one party, so pregnant with danger to the other, as Mr Gladstone's New Ireland."[1]

The *Edinburgh Review* points out that all the arguments urged against the repeal of the union in the reformed parliament in 1833, when O'Connell's motion was defeated by 428 to 40 votes, are applicable now. The difference between that period and this is mainly that Mr Parnell draws his supplies of money from America. "The whole agitation is kept up at the expense of the Irish-Americans, and it is the form in which they are pleased to display their hostility to the country."

"Recent disclosures have shown that he (Mr Gladstone) has acted in abject subserviency to the Irish party, and that the scheme presented to the country in the name of Mr Gladstone was in reality the measure of Mr Parnell himself."

The Liberal leaders after imputing with horror a political connection between the Tories and the Parnellites form an alliance themselves. "To us

[1] April 24th, 1886.

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this transaction appears to be the most scandalous and immoral in our parliamentary history."[1]

The *Quarterly Review* describes how Mr Parnell resolved to support conservatism in the General Election of 1885, and how Mr Gladstone appealed passionately for a majority over both combined. "It will be a vital danger to the country and the Empire, at a time when the demand of Ireland for large powers of self-government is to be dealt with, if there is not in Parliament a party totally independent of the Irish vote."

As soon as Mr Gladstone discovered he had not a majority without the Parnellites, whispers were heard that he intended to bring in a measure of Home Rule, and Lord Hartington, Mr Chamberlain, and Sir George Trevelyan resigned. The article proceeds to point out the objections to Home Rule in strong terms.[2]

The *Pall Mall Gazette.*—"The Liberal party as a whole are willing to give Ireland a Legislature and an Executive of her own, but Liberals are not prepared to burn down their own house in order to roast Paddy's pig. In other words, we are willing to create a new subordinate Parliament—we are not willing to destroy the Imperial Parliament as it at present exists. . . . As long as this is a central and vital feature of the Bill we have no option but to offer it the strenuous opposition with which we would confront any other attempt to dismember our Imperial heritage."[3]

The *Daily Chronicle.*—"Home Rule would cause Anarchy and confusion, would paralyse the benign British law, and disgust and drive away from her

[1] July 2nd, 1886, art. xi. [2] July 1886, art. x. [3] April 9th, 1886.

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shores every decent citizen and every ounce of gold now invested in the country."[1]

The *Daily Telegraph*.—"Every point of the treaty between the two countries will form a subject for perpetual strife between England and Ireland. The poorer country will complain of everything—of the amount of her contributions, of the retention of her Customs Houses, of the interference with her judiciary, of the restrictions in her rights to maintain armed forces. Her agitators will never want materials while a single rag of restriction remains, and the Irish Ministers who profess content will at once become unpopular."[2]

The Sunday newspapers which opposed the scheme were the *Sunday Times*, *Observer*, *Lloyd's*, *Weekly Despatch*, *People*, *Referee*, and the *News of the World*, while the *Weekly Times* and *Reynolds* gave it a qualified support.

In the provinces the *Birmingham Daily Post* thus spoke: "Home Rule in the sense of establishing an Irish Legislature with limited powers and with amendments adequate to the maintenance of the union, may be conceded; but Home Rule, plus an enormous subsidy involving the ultimate addition of a fifth to our National Debt, has no chance of being listened to, much less of being accepted."[3]

The *Manchester Guardian* thinks that the Government scheme lacks stability. "Let the Irish be represented in the British Parliament, but let their representation be small." It agrees with Mr Chamberlain in his objection to an Irish Parliament of their own without representation at Westminster. It does not agree with a National

[1] July 2nd, 1886. [2] April 9th, 1886, [3] April 12th, 1886.

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Council. "To talk of a Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, if a real Federation is meant, is, if we may say so without disrespect, nonsense." [1]

The *Liverpool Courier* protests against the one man despotism "which has been set up, and so strikingly exhibited in regard to this question. Lord Hartington is right in thus protesting against the moral competence of the present Parliament to deal with a question which was studiously withheld from the knowledge of the country, and there can hardly be two opinions as to the accuracy of his assumption that, if Mr Gladstone had outlined his scheme in the speeches he made to the electors of Midlothian, he would have been the means of returning the Tories to Parliament with a large majority. Anything more unconstitutional, anything more politically immoral, it is difficult to conceive than Mr Gladstone's conduct since the opening of the season, and it is well that the picture should have been sketched by Lord Hartington instead of by a political rival." [2]

The *Dublin Evening Mail* was opposed strongly to Home Rule, and attacked Gladstone's Manifesto particularly. It proceeds to point out that the cry of the election is unity of all classes, and sink minor differences to preserve the Union. And then it violently attacks Parnell and Gladstone for lying: "We may be sure that the struggle which was begun by the Home Rulers with evil speaking, lying, and slandering, will go on, and end in the same way." [3]

The *Scotsman* apologises for differing from Mr Gladstone, but is inclined to follow Lord Hartington. It thinks Mr Gladstone was bound to bring in some

[1] April 12th, 1886. [2] April 12th, 1886. [3] June 30th, 1886.

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measure, "but not one that violated his own conditions. He contends that the unity of the Empire would not be weakened or destroyed if his measure were adopted. He sees shadowy bonds which are not visible to the unaccustomed eye, and that most assuredly would not hold Ireland if she got what he proposes to give her. If Ireland has an Independent Parliament with only limited restraints, if she has full power of taxation, except over customs and excise, within her own bounds; if she has the control of the judges and magistrates and civil service; if, above all, she is denied all voice in the Imperial Parliament, there is nothing left but the Crown, and to maintain it as a bond would most likely mean war." [1]

We have quoted the newspapers at great length, partly to show that the tone, although extremely decided, was judicious and reasonable, and lacked in a very high degree mere party rancour and personal abuse, and partly to show how the opinion of the country was created which converted a Liberal majority of 84 into a Unionist majority of 123 six months after, for no event or measure demonstrates the evolution of the power of the Press so well as a comparison between its influence at the Act of Union and at the attempt to repeal it eighty-six years after.

A great portion of the Liberal Press undoubtedly merely followed Lord Hartington and Mr Chamberlain, but still there is an independent ring about the utterances of most of the newspapers, and their opinions clearly proved to Mr Gladstone that the country would neither consent to the exclusion of

[1] April 12th.

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the Irish members from Parliament, nor allow the Protestant minority of Ulster to be oppressed by the rest of Ireland, so in 1892 the measure of Home Rule laid before the country was essentially different to that of 1886, in the important fact that the Irish members were to be retained at Westminster. "A condition suggested to us by the voice of public opinion, and which in respect and deference to that voice has been adopted by us."[1]

The *Daily News* argues that in 1886 "the masses of the community were not prepared for reform," but that in the six years they have been educated up to it, so that people who would not hear at first of Home Rule are now asking "what it is like before they offer an opinion upon it."[2]

The Speaker, a new Home Rule organ founded in 1890, frankly states that the question is one of faith in the authority of Mr Gladstone. "Beside him all other figures, whether in the ranks of friends or foes, are dwarfed into insignificance, and the question which is everywhere asked of the elector is whether he is for or against Mr Gladstone?"[3]

The *Pall Mall Gazette* returns to the fold of Mr Gladstone. "The election of 1886 was not a decision against Mr Gladstone and Home Rule. It was a decision for suspension of judgment. . . . A Liberal victory in the approaching elections would mean, not that the country had changed its mind, but that at last it had made up its mind. And that is why, so far as we can see, the election which begins in earnest to-day, is likely to be of supreme and of decisive importance."[4]

[1] Mr Gladstone's Speech at Edinburgh, June 30th, 1892.
[2] July 1st, 1892. [3] July 2nd, 1892. [4] July 2nd, 1892.

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The *Saturday Review* attacks Mr Gladstone for accepting the London programme comprising the Labour question (for which he is willing to enter into a conference on their views), and including the Eight Hours' Bill.[1]

The *Spectator* points out that "the proposal to leave Irishmen out of the Imperial Parliament had been decisively rejected and withdrawn; the proposal to make Ireland tributary to England without giving Irishmen any influence over the mode in which the tribute should be spent, had been decisively rejected and withdrawn. And the proposal to reserve certain very important subjects, like the customs duties, for instance, from the consideration of the Irish Parliament, though not decisively rejected and withdrawn, had excited so much and so increasing an opposition in Ireland, that it was plain enough it could not be carried without losing all hope of conciliating the Irish people."[2] A few weeks after it argues that the Irish Government must have a military force at its disposal to maintain order, "and that will mean either the conquest of Ireland by Ulster, or of Ulster by the rest of Ireland."[3]

The *Times*.—"The country will not regard as unimportant arrangements which will decide whether the British nation is to be governed by its own representatives or by a band of Irish cut off from connection with British politics, managing their own affairs in their own island, and holding the balance between parties here."[4]

The *Daily Chronicle* points out that Mr Gladstone

[1] June 4th, 1892.
[2] April 23rd, 1892.
[3] June 4th, 1892.
[4] July 1st, 1892.

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can only beat the Unionists by the help of every Irish and Labour vote. "Where Labour has lost him one seat it has won him ten; and the losses are in the main due to a vital tactical error which, we are happy to think, it is not too late to repair."

Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, the chief organ of the steady artisan, states that all along the line the battle has been fought on the London programme, since "they (the Gladstonians) knew perfectly well that it was hopeless to fight on Home Rule."

"Throughout the remaining days of the election it will be the main object of the Gladstonians to concentrate the attention of the electors upon other matters than their own pet project of Home Rule. They know its unattractiveness, and will keep it as far as possible in the background." [1]

The *Manchester Guardian* thinks that excessive caution, and dislike of action, are the chief reasons why the majority of educated people are against Home Rule, and opines that such people have always been wrong in the past "where the average sense and conscience of the country have been right." [2]

The *Glasgow Herald*, the *Scotsman*, the *Birmingham Daily Post*, and the *Northern Whig*, Belfast, still opposed Home Rule. We must conclude, then, that the retention of the Irish members conciliated many of those Liberals who seceded from their party in 1886, that the promises to Labour won many votes, and that the extraordinary faith in Mr Gladstone returned to many who lost it during the first shock of surprise at the provisions of his Home Rule scheme of 1886. The result of the General Election of 1892 was a majority of 39 in favour of Mr Glad-

[1] July 3rd, 1892. [2] July 1st, 1892.

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stone, but that the country was by no means prepared to accept Home Rule was proved by the absence of any demonstration when the Bill was thrown out by the Lords, and by the large majority of Conservatives and Unionists who were returned in 1895.

Section V.—The Influence of the Press on Foreign Policy

This is perhaps the most important of all modern political phenomena, and one that threatens to revolutionise the art of diplomacy.

In the first place, the Press, as a medium of obtaining and transmitting information, is unequalled by any Government machinery, although the diplomatic reports are necessarily the only official ones. Secondly, the demand for information, and the anxiety and impatience aroused if it is withheld, causes Ministers in many cases to publish a report of their negotiations early in order that the country may know the exact truth. Thirdly, the open discussion of all questions is more likely to result in a compromise than if the countries concerned are worked up into patriotic fury by vague rumours, and have very little conception of the true arguments on the questions at issue. The objections to the Press taking a prominent part in the discussions of foreign affairs are (1) that popular patriotic passion may be raised by sensational headlines and street cries, but this objection will probably soon be rendered nugatory by excessive familiarity with such reports, for even now a "rumour of war" and "preparations in the

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dockyards" move most of us as little as "all the winners" or "sensational divorce case"; (2) the publication of the often necessarily rapid changes in ministerial policy tends to cause the public to lose faith in the Ministers, but "faith in authority" is at the best a poor substitute for reason, and in time the public will be as highly educated in diplomatic usages as they are now in the elements of constitutional law, and will understand how impossible it is to take and maintain a dogmatic stand on questions of foreign policy.

The manner in which the Press influences the Foreign Policy of the Government may be described conveniently under three headings:

(1) By rousing popular opinion, which forces the Government to take some action. We have already given as an example of this the Crimean War, and mentioned the wave of Francophobia four years later.

(2) By praising or condemning the foreign policy of Ministers after it has been carried out, the results of general elections may be greatly influenced. Lord Palmerston's appeal to the country to recognise his patriotic policy in China was backed by a large section of the Press, and he was restored to power in 1857 after he had been censured by a vote of the House of Commons. Again, the sympathy of the Press with Italian Independence probably affected the result of the general election two years later, and gave a cue to Lord Palmerston as to the foreign policy which the country desired. In 1880, the Conservative Government was attacked vigorously by the *Standard* and other Conserva-

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tive organs, and this, combined with other causes, resulted in the return to power of the Liberals.

(3) By actually criticising the negotiations as they are being carried on. This is the latest influence exerted by the Press, and one which has only been possible within the last few years. Formerly, Blue-Books containing instructions, letters, and records of conversations, were only published after the negotiations were completed, but lately the public have been able to follow their course from day to day.

But before discussing this latest development of diplomacy, it will be interesting briefly to examine the newspapers of 1878, in order to ascertain their opinions on the events and negotiations before and during the Berlin Congress. We select this period because the public took a keener interest in those negotiations than any other previous ones which did not result in war, and because the subsequent course of policy has been greatly influenced by the treaties then signed.

On May 31st, 1878, the *Globe* published the full text of the agreement entered into between England and Russia before the Congress.

In it England agreed (1) not to take any hostile action against Russia for annexing Batoum; (2) that two Bulgarian provinces should be established, one north and the other south of the Balkans, and that the Turkish troops should withdraw from the latter and not re-enter it; (3) that the passage of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus should remain *in statu quo*, but (4) reserved the right to discuss international arrangements relating to the Danube and the reorganisation of Epirus, Thessaly, and the other Greek provinces.

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Mr Charles Marvin, who was engaged as an extra clerk at the Foreign Office, and sold a copy of the text of the treaty to the *Globe*, was prosecuted, but discharged on the ground that he had not been bound to secrecy.

The publication of the text of this arrangement, in which England agreed to the annexation by Russia of Turkish territory at the time when she was supposed to be taking action to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, was condemned, but still, the idea that Lord Beaconsfield had achieved a great diplomatic triumph gained ground until, on his return, bringing "peace with honour," he was received with the greatest ovation.

All the London newspapers, except the *Spectator*, *Daily Chronicle*, and *Echo*, supported him strongly, but the provincial organs indulged in some sharp criticism.

The *Spectator* revelled in a satirical personal attack.[1]

The *Echo* attacked the Government for secretly signing away Kars and Batoum, while it was in public denouncing Russia for her ambitious designs and repudiating the cession of these very places.[2] After stating that it was not the time now to expect a cool judgment on the results of the Berlin Congress, it reminds us that the original mission of Great Britain was "to secure the independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire and confound the Russian schemes. In the result the Russian project has been adopted and endorsed by Europe, and the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire are things of the past."[3]

[1] July 20th, 1878. [2] June 22nd, 1878. [3] July 17th, 1878.

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The *Daily News*.—"The Treaty of Berlin marks another momentous step in the process of extruding the Turk from Europe. It needs but another such treaty and the end of Turkish misgovernment will have come." [1]

The *Saturday Review*.—"To Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury are due the submission of Russia to the authority of the Powers assembled in Congress, and the large modification of the Treaty of San Stefano. Turkey has, in Lord Salisbury's phrase, one more chance of recovering, and in default of improvement the territories of the Sultan are no longer left at the mercy of Russia.

"In giving Turkey a right to call on England for assistance, Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury have established a corresponding claim on the goodwill of the Sultan. He will only be asked to do what is indispensable to the welfare of his people and the safety of his Government; but in the event of refusal to perform the promises which are an essential part of the contract, Turkey will not be allowed to persist in perverse conduct without remonstrance, which may not always be confined to words."

The *Daily Chronicle* states that "the Anglo-Turkish Convention must either be satisfactorily explained or relegated to the archives where treaties are laid that are never intended to be used." . . . It rather suspects that "the country is keenly alive, not to the sort of peace brought back, but that which is to follow." [2]

The *Times*.—"Ministers can hardly fail to secure

[1] July 18th, 1878. [2] July 17th, 1878.

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the support both of Parliament and of the country, and even if the Opposition dislike the new convention, they may hesitate to invite defeat."[1]

Daily Telegraph.—"Peace, as we said yesterday, is better than the most necessary and successful war; but a British crowd would never cheer peace at any price as they did that brought home to them by the Plenipotentiaries. There must be more in it than the saving of money or the promotion of trade, which seems to some persons the highest object of British statesmanship, to recommend this Berlin settlement to the shrewd and high-spirited English public."[2]

The *Quarterly Review.*—October 1878, art. ix., begins with a short sketch of Turkish history leading up to its third and present great collapse. It next advises Turkey to consolidate and reform her Asiatic territories since she has lost most of her European, and concludes with these pregnant sentences. "There is no blinking the fact, odious though it be, that the main obstacle in the way of Turkey's reform and renovation has been for the last fifty years at least, not the much abused Koran and its teachings, not Mahomedan 'fatalism' and its benumbing spell, so potent in the imagination, so imperceptible in its effects on real life, not even the corporate bigotry and obstructionist action of the Ulema themselves, but Russia, and her fixed resolve that the 'sick man' shall not recover, do what he may."

The writer proceeds to argue that placed midway between Europe and India, commanding the Euphrates and the Nile, "of what value to us as a

[1] July 17th, 1878. [2] July 17th, 1878.

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co-operator, an ally, might not Asiatic Turkey prove?" The responsibility incurred by ourselves is undoubtedly great, but "from a responsibility of this nature it is not England's way to shrink; in a cause like this she lacks—long may she lack! the instinct of fear."

The *Edinburgh Review*, October 1878, art. ix., attacks the Government for transporting troops to Malta from India without first consulting the House of Commons and for not securing the reimbursement of public and private capital invested in Cyprus in the event of the island being surrendered to its former sovereign. Does not intend to revive the debate as to the wisdom or folly of the engagements entered into by the Treaty of Berlin, but points out that this policy, both in its inception and its execution, is essentially novel and unparliamentary. Complains that the tendency of his (Lord Beaconsfield's) Government is to transfer "the preponderating influence in the State from Parliament to the Crown; and the Crown in these times means the First Minister. . . . Judged by the sober light of economic principles and domestic interests the measures of the Government in the Levant must be regarded as extremely reckless, perilous and fantastical. . . . The great danger to be apprehended from the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire was, that Russia alone would be in a condition to appropriate the spoils and to extend her influence to the shores of the Mediterranean. . . . We desire the independence of Turkey, not her subjection. . . . The truth is that the gloom which hangs over the future of the East, and the grave responsibilities that devolve on the British Govern-

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ment, have not been lightened by the result of the late Congress, and we still look with the greatest anxiety to the future course of events."

The *Manchester Guardian* complains that the question whether the other powers were apprised of the secret agreement with Turkey before the Congress met still remains unanswered. "The liability to defend the Asiatic territory of Turkey against all and several who may invade it is one which, however unwelcome, it was perfectly within our discretion to incur," but it thinks that we run the risk of making other Powers, especially France, jealous and of causing them to complain that we have stolen a march on them. It hopes that the French Ministers may allay the resentment to which utterance had been given by the Republican Press of Paris. "It must, however, be confirmed on official authority, which is yet wanting, before we can be satisfied that the Anglo-Turkish Treaty has not sown the seeds of many future European dissensions."[1]

The *Birmingham Daily Post* thinks the policy of the Government has been deceptive all through. "What else can be said of the conduct of men who professedly stood up for the integrity of the Turkish Empire when they had resolved to seize a slice of it themselves; of men who, in the midst of their denunciation against Russia making a separate treaty with Turkey, were themselves making a treaty of the same description; of men who obtained a vote of money from the House of Commons on the pretence of the vote being simply required to strengthen their hands in a Congress

[1] July 20th, 1878.

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devoted to the purpose of peace, and immediately appropriated the proceeds to making preparations for war? Only one opinion can be given of such men."[1]

The free discussion of the Eastern Question in the Press prepared the public for the course which events have since taken and proved to Ministers that their policy was, in the main, approved by the country. Most people now recognise that it is impossible to force reforms on Turkey without risk of a great European war, and, excepting at those periods when waves of active emotionalism are roused by massacres of Christians in Armenia, are content quietly to await the natural death of the Ottoman Empire. Russia has awakened to the fact that the whole of Europe will oppose any attempt to force her way to Constantinople, and England has, without coming into conflict with the Sultan, quietly occupied Egypt and advanced up the Nile to Khartoum.

The latest dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire has been accomplished after two years of dissensions among the great Powers, and the last of the Sultan's influence has been removed from the Island of Crete. Russia, prevented from expanding towards the south, has pushed her way across the north of Asia and is now building a railway through Siberia to Manchuria. This brief sketch brings us to a consideration of the modern method of conducting diplomatic operations in public.

Section VI.—Democratic Diplomacy

The year 1898 affords two excellent examples of the new method of conducting foreign affairs.

[1] July 20th, 1878.

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During the active negotiations on the Far Eastern Question at the beginning of the year, the *Times* distinguished itself by repeatedly receiving information from China earlier than the Foreign Office. This information showed that Russia intended not only to obtain a sphere of influence in the north of China but also a port, both for purposes of trade and as a base for naval operations. Further, that she intended strongly to fortify the harbour and to impose tariffs to protect her trade.

The *Times* and many organs of the Conservative Press, besides the whole of the Radical newspapers, severely censured the Government for its supineness in allowing Russia to acquire and fortify Port Arthur and in allowing Germany to acquire Kiao Chau. Ministers, although allowing that free Press criticism was an unavoidable result of our system of government, complained bitterly that they were working under conditions which favoured their opponents and hampered their own actions. Now it is impossible at present to say how far the action of Russia and Germany and the criticisms of the Press affected the policy of the Government, but it is certain that it changed in six months from the principle of maintaining the Chinese Empire intact to that of allowing other states to obtain a firm foothold in the country, and to lease important harbours. The Press chiefly condemned the Government for not opposing other powers and for losing our prestige in the East, and this may account to a certain extent for the subsequent policy of naval demonstrations and of obtaining verbal promises and paper concessions. But the chief practical results are the acquisition of Wei-

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hai-Wei, which England holds on the same conditions, *i.e.* a ninety-nine years' lease, as Russia and Germany hold Port Arthur and Kiao Chau respectively, and we have also secured many railway concessions and a "sphere of influence" in the midst of China. The points that we learn from this period are (1) that, whatever Ministers may wish, it is impossible to prevent the Press obtaining and disseminating information of the course of foreign negotiations.

(2) That no attachment to a party will prevent the freest criticism of foreign policy.

(3) That both the Foreign Office and the Opposition in Parliament are provided with facts and opinions of Governments and people from all parts of the world, quicker and in greater detail than otherwise would be possible. No one but a specialist is able to judge from the plans of a building, the outlines of a book, or the studies for a painting what will be the character of the ultimate creation, and so people usually do not criticise work until it is completed; in other words the public judges by results. It is thus unfair to condemn a Government until the negotiations are finished, but it is nevertheless permissible to offer suggestions which may or may not be adopted, but some of those emanating from the Press, possessing as it does all the information available, are certain to be of value even if the writers are not conversant with the practical customs and methods of diplomatists. Again, the free criticism of the Press undoubtedly causes Ministers both to exert themselves to the utmost and to explain and defend their policy in Parliament, for, as we have shown, the influence

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of the newspapers at the next general election is always an important factor. The objection that other countries are informed of Governmental policy and so are prepared to resist it, is undoubtedly a sound one, but on the other hand the Government at the same time gains most valuable information which might otherwise be concealed from it, for even such an autocratic State as Russia cannot now sign a secret agreement with China without the text appearing in a day or two in the *Times*.

To give only one instance, on January 5th, 1897, the *Times* published an account of a secret treaty between Russia and China signed by Li Hung Chang and Count Cassini and gave some of the clauses. The general idea conveyed was that Russia had taken the whole of Northern China under her protection. In the light of subsequent events it is interesting to note that China in this treaty leased to Russia Kiao Chau although, "should there be any danger of military operations, Russia will not enter immediately into possession in order to obviate the chance of exciting the jealousy and suspicion of the Powers." During the next two years the *Times* printed the texts of the various agreements immediately they were concluded, and the Blue-Book, No. 1, on China affairs for 1899, proves how useful the information was to the Government.

Now it is the universal custom to speak of the opinion of the Press as the popular feeling of the country, and a great part of the foreign intelligence of newspapers is made up of quotations from foreign organs, telling us what this feeling is. We must not forget, therefore, that when we say that during the

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Venezuela crisis the whole country was in favour of peace, we really mean the whole Press, and when we say the country sympathised with America during the American War with Spain, we again mean the Press.

Supposing, in both these cases, that the Press had given no opinion at all and merely stated the facts, and a poll of the whole country had been taken, and each individual had recorded his opinion whether there should be peace or war, or whether Spain or America should be sympathised with, it is I think very doubtful if the untutored popular voice would have been as unanimous as was the Press.

The last instance of important newspaper action was that taken during the negotiations concerning the Fashoda difficulty with France. After the magnificent victory of Omdurman rumours were heard that a small body of French explorers had occupied Fashoda, a post higher up the Nile. At once the English Press loudly demanded that Major Marchand, who was in command of the expedition, should retire and the French Press retaliated that he could not do this without compromising the honour of France. Lord Salisbury then published a Blue-Book containing a copy of instructions to the English Ambassador in Paris, in which he distinctly stated that he would not enter into negotiations until Major Marchand retired from Fashoda, and the French Foreign Minister Delcassè answered that he must not ask for the impossible. The firm attitude of the Prime Minister was supported by the whole Press, and *Punch* published a cartoon consisting of a barrel-organ, Fashoda, on which was a monkey, being played by a Frenchman before a house, in the porch of which stands John Bull.

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J. B.—"Go away"! "Go away"!! Organ Grinder—"Eh! What you give me if I go?" J. B.—"I will give you something if you don't." This cartoon and other utterances of the Press, offended the French nation, or rather the Press of France, for no more English newspapers are read in France than French ones in England. Nevertheless the extracts from the French organs published in the English showed that the former considered the action of the latter made a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the question more difficult. A remarkable argument was next advanced in the English newspapers that since the whole country, *i.e.* the Press, had backed up Lord Salisbury's demand, therefore the Ministry could not now yield an inch, and therefore it was the duty of France to do so. This extraordinary principle, if pushed to its logical conclusion, means that if a Minister makes a demand and it is supported by the Press, it is the duty of other countries to grant it, because the Minister is not then able to modify it. But on this particular question, both the French Government and Press recognised the absolutely untenable nature of their position and gracefully retired without loss of honour or prestige.

In all probability the modern system of newspaper diplomacy will tend towards maintaining peace in the world. Dynastic and cabinet wars are now impossible; Ministers already recognise that it means a ruined reputation for anyone who causes a war which satisfies the popular passion of the moment but will not bear the criticism of reasoning afterwards. The long train of negotiations, "pin pricks" and diplomatic difficulties preceding a modern European

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war would be reported day by day and thus it would soon become obvious if a responsible Minister endeavoured to engineer a war without a just cause. Such a discovery would cause so strong a revulsion of feeling that war would be averted and the Minister ruined. On the other hand I think we must all admit that the feelings of the average Englishman for the French, German, Russian, American, Turkish, Dutch and other nations are the same now as they were ten years ago, and would have remained constant in the interval if it had not been for the action of the Press. The speech of the President of the United States during the Venezuela controversy was neither justifiable nor diplomatic, but the Press preached peace; the telegram of the German Emperor after the Jameson raid was justifiable but undiplomatic and the Press preached war; the criticism of the Government during the Armenian crisis was conducted on the lines of party politics and during the Fashoda dispute was based on obvious justice.

But the one chief and great danger of newspaper action is that those who organise emotions are not responsible for the results and are not punished for their mistakes. If the Press compels the Government to declare war and the results are as barren as those following the Crimean campaign, no one thinks of censuring the Press but all blame the responsible Ministers. It is thus of the greatest importance that journalism as a profession should be adopted only by those who start with the highest ethical ideals, have the advantage of the best education and carry out their duties in a calm judicial manner, never forgetting the very important part which they play in the government of the country.

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CHAPTER X

THE NATIONAL RELIGION

Section I.—Historical

THE science of metaphysics is unique in that it deals with the supersensuous and consequently none of its laws and conclusions can be proved or disproved by material means. For this reason the idea of the ghost or soul conceived by a primitive savage was to his mind what the *logos* was to Plato or the *noumenon* to Kant. In other words the conception of the Deity, the first cause, the Soul or any other immaterial idea depends entirely on the state of development of the mind of the thinker and not on any material evidence. That this must be so is obvious when we consider that we can only demonstrate material phenomena, and if we endeavour to convey our ideas of the Deity to each other we must give to them some material shape.

The extreme idealist reduces the whole world to ideas and denies that the existence of matter can be proved, but the extreme materialist on the other hand traces all ideas to the stimulation of the sense organs by forms of matter, and denies that any idea can arise independently of a material force.

The result is that the idealist regards the Deity as a *real* idea although it is not connected by a train of causes and effects with some material force, whereas the materialist either regards the Deity as

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an abstract conception without parts or principle or even locality—in which respect it differs from a point—or denies the existence of a Deity altogether.[1]

The man of common sense dismisses the whole subject with the assurance that as nothing can be known regarding the supersensuous, all discussion concerning it is a mere juggling with words.

From what has been said, it will be easily understood that although philosophers might be content with the *logos*, the *noumenon*, or the abstract Deity, the ordinary man craved for some *thing* or *person* more tangible, more definite and material, in which to enshrine his ideals, and so arose idols and the belief in the existence of various mythological beings, who were supposed to watch over and control the destiny of the world.

The monotheism of Moses allows only one God, who is omnipotent and omniscient, the sole creator, guide, and judge of the destiny of the world, inanimate and animate, but still the God of Moses being immaterial and abstract could not, except by means of material phenomena, appeal greatly to the minds of the people.

But when God the Father manifested himself in God the Son, someone material and tangible appeared, and the Roman world gradually recognised the person of Jesus Christ as God materialised. Macaulay thus describes the old philosophy and the new: "God the uncreated, the incomprehensible the invisible, attracted few worshippers. A philosopher might admire so noble a conception; but the crowd turned away in disgust from words which presented

[1] I have already treated this subject at some length in Ignorance (bk. ii., chap. i., sect. ii.).

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no image to their minds. It was before Deity embodied in a human form, walking among men, partaking of their infirmities, leaning on their bosoms, weeping over their graves, slumbering in the manger, bleeding on the cross, that the prejudices of the Synagogue, and the doubts of the Academy, and the pride of the Portico, and the fasces of the Lictor, and the swords of thirty legions, were humbled in the dust." [1]

Now the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ is as noble in its inspiration as it is sublime in its simplicity, but although the principles stated were intended to teach man for all time to come, the language used was essentially such that His hearers could at once comprehend His meaning. This teaching derived directly from God is consequently essentially ideal, but it fell upon a soil impregnated with the philosophy of Plato and Paganism, and the early doctrines of the Church are thus a development from heathen philosophy, Judaism, and the teachings of Christ. In this way the simple ideal precepts became surrounded with a highly metaphysical system of doctrines in which the First Cause became personified as God, the Father of God the Son, and the universal spirit was revealed by Christ to be God the Holy Ghost.

The result is that while the whole doctrine and ethical teaching of Christ can be discovered in the Gospels, the details of our modern doctrine and ritual are merely the work of ancient and modern men who have endeavoured to adapt them to the varying understanding of people at different periods and to interpret the words of Christ into the language of current thought.

[1] Macaulay: "Essay on Milton," vol. i. p. 22.

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Nothing in the least resembling the Athanasian Creed can be found in the teachings of Christ, and it is therefore of interest to inquire how it became accepted as one of the creeds of the Christian Church. The Arians in the fourth century could not reconcile the fact that God the Father was co-equal or consubstantial with God the Son, but Athanasius, Liberius, Osius and Gregory Nazianzen successfully established the doctrine at the Council of Nice, and founded what has since become the Catholic Church.

The Emperor Constantine being a practical soldier, and unacquainted with the subtle niceties of metaphysics, could no more understand the points of difference between the various Christian sects than the thoughtful man of to-day can understand how the worship of God can possibly be affected by such trivial accessories as the burning of incense, but he ratified the Nicene Creed, although he was afterwards baptized by the Arian Bishop of Nicomedia and persecuted Athanasius.

In the reign of Theodosius the attributes and co-equality of the first two Persons of the Deity were extended to the Third, God the Holy Ghost, but in order that the Christian should not worship three Gods, the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity was formulated. Now it is not our purpose here to enter into the history of the Christian Church, but merely to point out that all those who accept the words of Christ are members of the true Christian Church, and the creeds and observances of the main branches of the Greek, Roman and Anglican Churches with their subdivisions are merely the various interpretations which material men have placed upon the ideal

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words of God. If this very obvious fact were always remembered, the bitter feuds and controversies between the various Christian sects would at once cease, for if all agree in recognition of the truth of the main great principles, the ideas of some bishop or reformer in the middle or recent centuries concerning some point of detail would be dwarfed into their proper insignificance.

Unfortunately, in dwelling upon the words or opinions of the early Fathers or the Great Reformers there is a great danger lest the actual words of Christ should be forgotten in the maze of interpretations which have since been placed upon them, and it is this constant intermingling of the material words of men with the ideal teachings of Christ which renders it impossible to attain unity in the Catholic Church.

Section II.—Practical Religion

Since man is incapable of thinking in the abstract, and since his mind nevertheless has always craved for some form of idealistic belief, it has therefore happened that the Christian religion has passed through many phases wherein the central idealism has remained the same, but the material surroundings have altered to suit the needs of the period. In the fourth century, the desire of the people for some material objects to worship led to the invocation of the bones of saints and relics, and in the Middle Ages the punishment with which the ideal soul was threatened could be averted by the payment of material money to the Church. The Anglican Reformers strenuously endeavoured

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to abolish such abuses, and to restore as far as possible the Church to its early condition, so that only the ideal God should be worshipped, and the material accessories should be regarded merely as outward signs and symbols. In the present century, what is known as a spiritual revival has taken place; but this is obviously a misnomer, for the worship of the ideal or spirit never can or will alter, and what is meant is simply that the material practice of religion has been rescued from the gloom and morbidity of the eighteenth century, and adapted more fittingly to suit the demand for light, beauty, and song, at a period when worship is regarded as a joyous thanksgiving, and not as a melancholy attempt to escape from everlasting punishment. It is the eternal misunderstanding of the ideal and the material which causes all the doubts and misery in the world.

The doctrine of the Trinity in Unity in its material mathematical sense is obviously absurd, but since God is outside the laws of material cause and effect, the doctrine is permissible, and the whole is but an attempt to express in words an ideal conception. Unfortunately, it is only in the material sense that the average man understands this doctrine, and the scientific lover of material truth will dismiss it as mathematically impossible, while the faithful will say they believe but cannot understand, both of which positions are unsatisfactory. This is an excellent example of confounding the ideal with the material, but if we understand that God the Father is abstract, God the Son is the Father materialised, and God the Holy Ghost is the Son idealised, no difficulty

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presents itself, for all Three could be One and the same God, materially and ideally. Again, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the argument that the elements undergo a material change may be met by the practical scientist with the challenge that he would submit them to chemical tests, and if he satisfied his material senses he would believe it, but not otherwise. In this case, also, the scientist is perfectly justified in the position he takes up, for if we reduce the ideal to a material level, we must be prepared to test it on that level. But the faithful maintain that a spiritual change takes place, and this being outside the realms of material proof, can only be proved by faith. The sacraments are indeed symbols, and the spirit of God may enter into the participator, or even into the elements themselves, but no material change can take place without being manifested in a *material* manner, which must be capable of being tested by *material* means. In this respect the Church of Rome confounds the material and the ideal, but the Anglican Church does not. The Roman Church, however, does not maintain that the shape, the colour, the feel, the taste, the smell, of the elements alter, but nevertheless teaches that the bread and wine have gone and have been replaced by the body and blood of the Lord. This doctrine is absolutely too metaphysical for metaphysics, and can mean nothing either to the materialist who trusts only to the evidence of his senses, or to the idealist who permits no evidence of the senses to affect his ideals. It remains then that the materialist will absolutely deny transubstantiation, the practical man will refuse to believe in it, and the idealist will not be affected

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by material evidence one way or the other. The strange doctrine of original sin is the modern rudiment of the doctrine of the Neo-Platonists, which taught that the soul of man is one with the Supreme God, and is only prevented from being absorbed into it by being chained to the material body. The ninth article states that "the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit," and the same belief is found in nearly all religions. The Hindoo holyman starves himself and never washes, the good Churchman denies himself during Lent, while the Roman Priest wears a hair shirt, each with the idea of mortifying the flesh that the soul may develop.

Now, it is obvious that we can train our senses in any direction; but, nevertheless, they can only transmit to us ideas derived from material impressions. For instance, one man may cultivate his palate to a marvellous degree of perfection, and another his ear, but while we should think of the latter as a man of musical culture and the former as a gourmand actuated by a low animal instinct, in both cases the individuals have merely highly trained one of their physical sense organs.

Now, supposing a man sits in a cheerless cell and lives on the least amount of bread and water which will sustain life, and meditates on his soul and its future, what happens is that he merely conjures up pictures of happiness which must necessarily assume a material shape, and which are rendered all the more joyous by the contrast with his present surroundings.

But is he developing in any way his soul? The answer depends entirely upon what we mean by the soul. If we mean the faculty of constructing

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ideal scenes of bliss he certainly is, if we mean the power of controlling the animal instincts for material pleasures he certainly is, but if we mean by the soul an abstract, indestructible, and indescribable noumenon, he certainly is not.

If, again, we regard the soul merely in its material sense as the ultimate mental motive force of the individual, then undoubtedly every material phenomenon and every physical ailment may greatly affect its working. The Buddhists, Brahmins, many members of the Catholic Church, and the modern spiritualists, argue that if the body is in a weak or subdued condition the mind is more impressionable to spirit influences, and we agree that a weak, half-fed, or diseased person is more likely to see visions or have so-called communications than a strong person in robust health; but are these communications spiritualistic? It is impossible to say; but we know they are always of such a grossly material nature that it is much more probable that they arise in the mind of the individual than that they emanate from some outside source; and even if we allow that they emanate from without, we cannot agree that they are communications to the soul, but only to the material mind.

The following story is merely one of thousands, and is embodied in a letter of Dr Pusey's to a correspondent, inveighing against self-esteem. "A clergyman sitting, I think in his garden (I forget whether in a sort of dream), saw a neighbouring clergyman, a popular preacher. He asked him the hour. Answer, 'Half-past one. I have been in Hell half an hour, because I loved the praise of

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man more than the praise of God.' The next day another asked him, 'Do you know that the devoted Mr ——— is gone to his reward?' 'When did he die?' 'At one yesterday.' Such is the outline of the history."[1]

Under any circumstances, the idea of a clergyman appearing to a friend and stating that he had gone to hell for loving the praise of man better than the praise of God, is reducing the conception of future punishment to the level of a police-court sentence, and is, therefore, far more likely to have occurred to an ordinary material mind than to have emanated from a spirit even if it had been freed from its body for half an hour.

But however metaphysicians and theologians may attempt to define the soul, there can be no doubt that the idea that good and useful work for others at the expense of self will elevate the soul, is a higher and nobler conception than that mere physical degradation of the body by fasting or otherwise, which can benefit no one, will do so.

The student of God's works in Nature cannot fail to be impressed with the idea that the intention of God is that the world shall develop gradually from a low to a high state, and it therefore seems that His wishes are that we should further that development by every means in our power.

In practical life we can only do this by endeavouring to ameliorate the condition of everyone by hard and unselfish work which requires all our strength and energies; and although the weak, the useless, and the unintelligent may be excused for feast-

[1] "Spiritual Letters," by Edward Bouverie Pusey. By Johnston and Newbolt.

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ing their minds on dreams, the strong man who spends time on meditation which might be usefully employed, is robbing the world of his services, and leading as selfish and foolish a life as the individual who only considers how best he can satisfy his material and animal instincts.

The individual struggling for a living wage cannot be expected to practise altruism, and his conception of a future spiritual reward for present physical self-denials being on the level of any ordinary commercial transaction, is likely, therefore, to satisfy his instinct of justice, the whole conception being but another example of confounding the material mind with the ideal soul.

The controversy which raged around the ceremony of Baptism during the Gorham case in 1850 is interesting, both from its legal aspect and because here again we had an example of the failure of theologians to differentiate between the material mind and the ideal soul. Mr Gorham could not reconcile his idea of baptismal regeneration with his conscience, and the Bishop of Exeter consequently refused to institute him. He then appealed, first to the Court of Arches, who upheld the decision of the Bishop, and next to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, advised by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishop of London, who upset the judgment of the Inferior Court.

At once there was a great outcry from certain High Churchmen, including Mr Gladstone and Mr Manning, that the legal doctrine of the Church had been overthrown by the Privy Council. Now, the whole question resolves itself into a consideration of what is meant by "baptismal regeneration." The

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baptised person passes through a certain ceremonial and professes certain beliefs, or—as is more usually the case—some responsible person professes them for the child, who is not old enough to do so for himself. Now, if anyone argues that a change occurs at that moment in the material mind of the child, there is not a single psychologist in the country, and hardly a single person of common sense, who would agree, and yet they might consider themselves members of the Catholic Church.

But if, on the other hand, a person maintains that a change has taken place in the ideal soul, no one can either support or dispute the theory by any argument, since it is obviously outside the realms of reason.

But the State has the power of enforcing certain beliefs on all those who wish to be members of the State Church, and therefore it is permissible for it to pass a law to the effect that "no one shall be a member of the Church who does not believe that some change takes place in the ideal soul at the moment of baptism."

The framers of the article were purposely somewhat vague in their terms and definitions, and the interpretation of them by the Judicial Committee is thus rendered very difficult, and, accordingly, the safest action for them to take is to allow as much latitude as possible.

But although the tendency of the country is to demand a greater freedom of conscience, yet if we have a religion sanctioned by the State and controlled by ecclesiastical courts, it is absolutely necessary to respect their judgments, and we do not think that a convocation of bishops and priests who are specialists

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in theology are any more likely to pass judgments which will satisfy the common sense of the nation than does the Judicial Committee advised by the leading Churchmen. The practical outcome however remains the same that if a narrow interpretation is put upon the meaning of the Book of Common Prayer, and if any determined opposition is made to those who endeavour to raise the spiritual meaning of the sacraments and ceremonials above the level of mere symbolical formularies, then we shall either lose many of the most earnest members of the Church altogether or they will endeavour to sever that connection between Church and State which has lasted for over a thousand years.

We cannot enter here into the disputed question as to whether the Judicial Committee was really intended ever to become the ultimate court of appeal in ecclesiastical cases, and we are perfectly willing to admit that lawyers are no more able to settle questions of theology than are doctors or engineers, but since it is undesirable to institute new courts why not create all the spiritual peers members of the Privy Councils, and allow any *five* of them, including the Archbishops and the Bishop of London, to act with the Judicial Committee when ecclesiastical cases come up for judgment?

Section III.—The Doctrine of the Practical Englishman

The practical Englishman must believe something which he can thoroughly understand or he will refuse to believe anything. But although he does not understand the difference between materialism and

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idealism, in the sense in which the terms are used by philosophers, he has a clear idea that the supersensuous does exist, and here he differs from the absolute materialist. To a practical man, the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope means that the Pope is raised to a superhuman level when he speaks *ex cathedra*, and this he refuses to believe, nor can he be persuaded to regard such a belief merely as a convenient working doctrine similar to the constitutional one that the king can do no wrong.

The action of the Vatican Council in 1870 thus did more to retard the wished for conversion of England to Romanism than any other action of that august body. Similarly, to the average Englishman the doctrine of transubstantiation appeals simply in its material sense and he will not accept it. Nor will he accept the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation, which means the intermingling of the body and blood of Christ with the elements, as opposed to transubstantiation, which means the conversion of the elements themselves into the body and blood. Although the Archbishop of Canterbury, arguing from the judgment of the Privy Council in the Bennet case, stated that "it should be clearly understood that it is not unlawful to hold it (the Lutheran doctrine) and to teach it within the Church of England," Sir William Harcourt, arguing also from the same case, comes to the opposite conclusion, and suggests that the "real meaning to be attached to the sacramental formularies of the Church ought to be brought up for adjudication on a clear and definite issue."[1] Here again we see the confounding of the material elements with the ideal spirit.

[1] *Times*, October 21st, 1898.

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The incarnation, the resurrection and the ascension again have a broad material basis, and the average man regards these events as miracles performed by his God—meaning by a miracle an interference with the ordinary working of nature's laws.

One of the principal results of the Reformation was to sweep away all worship except for God, and this is strictly suitable to the Englishman's mind to-day. He will not worship man or things but only the supersensuous, and herein he shows his sturdy independent spirit. Nor is there any fear that the practice of invoking the saints or praying for the dead will ever attract the English, for in their minds is the fixed idea that a saint, however holy, was but a human being, and that their beloved ones who have preceded them are in the arms of God and are beyond the need of their prayers.

There is no fear that the practice of the confessional will, in the present era of thought, be regarded as more than an ethical exercise to strengthen the morals, and a priest in the Church of England will never be regarded otherwise than as a man endowed with special grace to teach the Lord's word just as another man may be "called" to perform some other useful function.

Section IV.—Ceremonial

As we are passing through one of the most materialistic eras of thought in the history of the world, it is not surprising to find great importance attached to mere material form and ceremony. Indeed, since the practical man knows nothing

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of philosophy and has but little knowledge of the difference in doctrine between the Roman and the Anglican Churches, he necessarily must be more affected by the ceremonial than by the doctrine taught. This we find to be the case. The Church is divided into High and Low Church parties, who profess the same idealistic belief, but have different ideas regarding the nature of the furniture and ornaments, the dress and method of delivery adopted by the officiating clergyman and the general ceremonial. Now the extreme idealist regards all these as mere subordinate accessories, since no material appearance or act can affect the supersensuous ideal; the utilitarian only regards them as important as far as they influence the practical ethical life of the worshippers, but the materialistic individual, unable to rise to the level of the ideal, regards them as all important parts of the practical religion.

The second position is the most important, not only because it is adopted by the greatest number of thinking people but also because the practical use of religion to society is the inculcation of ethics. Now the effect of an impressive choral service with beautiful surroundings is to exalt the mind and to cause it to endeavour to raise its ethical standard; but the effect of a plain homily—although the ideal standard taught may be quite as noble—is rather to depress the mind, and so not only create a lower ideal of religion but even cause the worshippers to avoid the practice of it altogether, because it is too closely associated with the morbid and the melancholy.

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Section V.—Individualism

In the whole organisation of the Church comprising its subordination to the State, its management of property, its method of appointment to benefices, its laws of doctrine, ceremonial, and practical ethics, there are certain to be some points which do not meet with the approval of everyone, and as the people grow more thoughtful, and the spirit of liberty and independence becomes more pronounced, so does the tendency for small bodies of people to form sects for themselves, because they refuse to accept some law of the State Church.

The Free Church of Scotland was organised in 1843 because many of the Ministers and elders of the Church of Scotland thought that the supremacy of the Civil Courts over the Courts of the Church and their power to interfere with doctrine and ritual, was "inconsistent with the freedom essential to the right constitution of a Church of Christ and incompatible with the government which He, as the Head of the Church, hath therein appointed distinct from the civil magistrate." The Presbyterians object to the supremacy of the Church resting in the civil power and to the establishment of the prelacy.

The Congregationalists think that all questions of faith, discipline, and membership should be settled by themselves when assembled for that purpose.

The Wesleyan Methodists are governed by a set of rules which divides the whole body into classes of about twelve persons, one of whom is styled the Leader, and it is his duty to see all the people in his class once a week, "to inquire how their souls pros-

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per," and to inform the minister "of any that are sick, or of any that walk disorderly and will not be reproved." Their doctrine is practically that of Protestant Evangelicalism.

We have quoted these as instances of bodies of men seceding chiefly because they objected to the supremacy of the civil power.

The Baptists think that the meaning of baptism is immersion, and entirely repudiate "the idea entertained by many that the application of water in any way, by sprinkling, pouring, or plunging, is equally legitimate." This is an example of a class of people who take exception to the ceremonial at one of the Sacraments.

The Unitarians maintain their belief in the strict and unqualified unity of God both in essence and in person, and hold the most diverse opinions as to the person of Christ.

They illustrate secession because of a diversity in doctrine.

It will be noted that all of these sects agree in the abstract idea of God, that all are Christians, and that their doctrine and ethics are almost similar. Excepting the last class, in fact, the differences are not in the least concerned with the ideal, but are essentially material, and refer either to questions of Church government or ceremonial.

It is indeed not only more probable that all outward manifestations of religion will only differ in material points, but absolutely essential that they should, since the ideal cannot be manifested by any form of ceremonial.

Now, besides these sects who seceded from the Established Church, there are also a considerable

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number of people who, while remaining members of it, would wish to abolish the supremacy of the civil power in matters spiritual. This then brings us to a new section.

Section VI.—The Advantage of an Established Church

With a growing tendency towards individual liberty of thought and practice in religion, it is obvious that in time, if the development continued, every individual would have his own particular religion, and that would mean practical anarchy.

But opposed to this tendency towards independence is—(1) The natural conservatism of the people who distrust innovations as much in their religion as they do in their constitutional law; (2) the faith in the authority of the authors of the Reformed Church, which is increased by the remembrance of the abuses they were instrumental in removing; and (3) the strong sentiment that Church and State should be firmly united. The arguments in favour of an Established Church are briefly:

(*a*) The preservation of Church property. The tithe is the oldest tax of any now existing, but although this is so, and landlords and tenants both understand and allow for it in their financial calculations, yet we constantly hear that it is an unjust tax, and if the Church were disestablished—even if it were not disendowed also—there would probably be still greater discontent in relation to it and more trouble in collecting it.

(*b*) The appointment of bishops by the Queen, acting on the advice of her Ministers, is much less

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likely to lead to jealousy and friction and far more likely to cause the selection of the fittest, than if the Church elected its own heads.

(*c*) The fact that the bishop is a servant of the Crown adds dignity and authority to his position, whereas otherwise he would merely be in the front rank of the clerical profession.

(*d*) The control of the ritual and doctrine by the State not only prevents experimental changes which would be as unstable as the ideas of modern thought, but also the institution of theoretical doctrines by theologists who, although full of good intentions, might easily be led by their zeal to preach doctrines and practise observances which would not be accepted by the bulk of the nation. In practice, the House of Commons as carefully avoids tampering with the reformed religion as it does with the fundamental laws of the Constitution, but we could not expect a convocation of ardent theologians to do so. The result is that the religion of the Anglican Catholic Church adapts itself slowly to modern requirements, and while the superstructure develops the foundations remain firm; in this respect again it follows the principle of constitutional development, and this is proved by centuries to be the natural and most fit method of progress for the English race.

(*e*) The fact that the Church is established by law and is only subject to the State gives it a surer and more stable position than it otherwise could have. Apart from the feeling of respect for the law innate in every Englishman, there is a sense of authority and dignity added to the teachings of the Church if they receive the sanction of

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the supreme legislative authority, which would be absent from any doctrine laid down by an assembly of bishops and priests. Further, since the civil power controls all the other professions which perform duties for the commonwealth, why should it not the clerical also? It appoints the Judges, the Secretary for War and the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Diplomatists and Magistrates, and the Ministers who are responsible for Trade, Local Government and Education.

The question of Disestablishment of the English Church is outside the realms of practical politics, but since this question at present greatly interests the public mind we will pass on to the best method of preventing it becoming a pressing one.

Section VII.—The necessity for the Expansibility of Doctrine and Ritual

As we have shown, the natural development of individualism and the love of liberty causes most people to refuse to remain members of an establishment unless they can conscientiously subscribe to its laws, doctrine, and ceremonial.

Since it is obviously desirable to maintain the established religion, the only way this can be done is to allow as great a latitude as possible in the observance of the minor details, while insisting rigorously on the main principles. For instance it would require a very little latitude to allow the Baptists to immerse totally the members of their communion and still permit them to remain members of the Church if they wished. Again, the Unitarians could accept the doctrine of the Trinity if they

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regarded it to mean God the Father in the abstract, God the Son in the material, and God the Holy Ghost in the ideal sense. The difference between the doctrine and ritual of the various parties of the Established Church is very small and of minor importance to the necessity of maintaining a strong united Church. But if the State insists rigorously on the observance of certain details in the furniture and ornaments of the building and the dress and behaviour of the clergy, the certain result will be that the Church will become divided into numbers of small sects professing the same belief but differing in some minor detail of ritual or ceremonial. Further, since many churchmen desire to regulate the details of their practices, let them do so, and so long as they observe the main principle of subordination to the civil authority and the broad outlines of doctrine and ceremonial, no harm can accrue. But the civil authority must not interfere on trivial pretexts and must only step in when the main principles are obviously in danger. The practical difficulty is to know exactly where the line should be drawn between orthodoxy and reprehensible heterodoxy.

Now the State religion must fulfil two important conditions: (1) it must be based exclusively on the Bible, and (2) it must be adapted as far as possible to the understanding of the majority of the present day.

But since the spiritual economic needs of people are certain to vary from age to age it should be our earnest endeavour to explain the meaning of our Lord's teaching in such a manner that it will be understood by all and not apparently be at vari-

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ance with the schools of modern thought, simply because it was originally delivered to men with less knowledge of material phenomena.

The teachings of Christ were intended for all ages, but we must remember that they were delivered to simple peasants, and it would thus have been useless if He had delivered discourses which would have been suitable before a meeting of the Royal Society of to-day. But it is not the ideal teaching, but the material practice of religion which is usually enquired into by our modern Ecclesiastical Courts and convocations, and the arguments brought forward by the learned divines and lawyers, are not based upon the teaching or practice of Christ at the time He lived, but upon the creeds and customs preached and practised by the authors of the Reformation, or by the bishops or clergy who succeeded them.

All Churches argue that the others are not true to the letter of Scripture and are contaminated by uninspired human thought and action. The Romanist argues that the appointment of the bishops of the Church of England by the temporal authorities proves that they are not called to office by the Church of Christ, and the Anglican argues that many of the beliefs of the Roman Church,—*e.g.* the ascension of the body of the Virgin—are founded on pure human imagination.

Now, it is perfectly certain that neither the appointment of bishops by the State nor the ascension of the Virgin is mentioned in the Scriptures, and therefore it depends upon our ideas of the spiritual import of the subsequent ideas of priests whether we accept such practices or beliefs. But if

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we accept the doctrine of apostolic succession in its literal sense, it is obvious that it is immaterial whether the bishop be selected by the Prime Minister or by the clerical authorities themselves since the special grace will in both cases be transmitted to him.

It is thus of the greatest importance to allow the doctrine and ritual of the Church to expand in all directions even although we run the risk of losing earnest thinkers who wish for something more absolute, definite and dogmatic; but these specialists in theology, who have developed their minds in narrow grooves are few in number, and the State Church is constituted for the many.

Cardinal Manning's reasons for leaving the Anglican Church were, briefly, because he had trained his mind to believe (1) in the actual material presence, and (2) in the infallibility of the Roman branch of the Catholic Church. He also objected to the supremacy of the temporal power and wished for the unity of the Church, and since the Roman branch will not allow any elasticity in its dogmas, obviously the only way to obtain unity would be for everyone to join that branch. He writes in 1849: "Protestantism is not so much a rival system which I reject, but no system, a chaos, a wreck of fragments without idea, principle or life. It is to me flesh, blood, and unbelief, and the will of man. Anglicanism seems to me to be in essence the same, only elevated, constructed, and adorned by intellect, social and political order, and the fascination of a national and domestic history."[1] The mind of Manning was a most interesting example of a combination of ex-

[1] "Life of Cardinal Manning," by Edmund Sheridan Purcell.

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treme idealism and most practical common sense. Newman, I think it will be admitted by most at the present day, stretched the possible interpretation of the Anglican doctrine beyond all legal limits in his tracts, and Pusey, although a staunch supporter of the Anglican Church and a strong opponent of Romanism, in teaching the doctrine of the real presence, took a position beyond which it would be illegal for his followers to move. But besides great thinkers there are undoubtedly a class of people who desire something absolute and definite to do and something dogmatic to believe. They undoubtedly derive comfort from the confessional, and have the satisfaction of doing something if they attend early mass. Now this they find in the Roman and not in the Anglican Church, for although, if they wished, they could believe as earnestly and attend as many celebrations in the latter, yet they are conscious that in the English Church they are to a great extent free, while in the Roman they are commanded to believe this and to do that. Those unstable minds who cannot rely upon themselves, and are only anxious to be governed in an absolute and dogmatic way, are likely thus to leave the English Church. But these again are in the minority, and do not represent the bulk of the nation. We are periodically subjected to the spectacle of people brawling in Church because they object to the ceremonial or dress of particular clergymen, and instead of going elsewhere, apparently attend their services for the express purpose of protesting. Now, to all seriously minded men, the surroundings and ceremonial are purely subordinate, but to the material partially-

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educated mind they are of primary importance. The fact of a clergyman of the Church of England dressing like a priest of the Church of Rome, and performing certain ceremonies copied from that Church, appears to be very serious to a man who knows nothing of doctrine, although the same clergyman may preach a most orthodox sermon ten minutes afterwards. To these people, the horrors of the pre-Reformation period are apparently conjured up by the sprinkling of holy water or the swinging of incense, but whether they are really so foolish as to believe there is any danger that England will be reclaimed by Rome it is difficult to say. Fanatics must always abound, and the only way to suppress them is to treat them with absolute indifference, and only take action when the law has been violated. But although outbreaks of fanaticism must be expected, it is nevertheless necessary to allow as much expansibility in ceremonial as in doctrine, or otherwise we shall increase the number of new sects and lose many members of the Church. Indeed, since ceremonial is so purely materialistic, it is difficult to know where the brake should be applied. It is, however, essential to educate people up to such a level of understanding that they will be able to appreciate the difference between the higher ideal and the lower material conceptions in religion, and until this is done—if indeed it be possible to do—we must not forget that there is a danger lest people should be induced by some forms of ceremonial to worship the material. For instance the priest is not allowed to elevate the elements before the people, lest perchance they should be

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tempted to worship those elements and not only Christ Himself.

Section VIII.—The Materialism of the Century

I have endeavoured to show elsewhere that the materialistic spirit of the century invades everything; the system of government, the taste of the people in literature, music, painting and the drama, and the lives of practical working men. It is therefore not astonishing to find that the very home of idealism, *i.e.* religion, has also been assailed. But it is not only in England that this spirit has manifested itself. In Italy the people have overthrown the temporal power of the Pope; in France the spirit of the people is one of apathy and indifference to religion, combined with active dislike to any manifestation of religious feeling on the part of their rulers; and in Germany socialism with its anti-Protestant teaching has established itself.

Can we wonder, then, that here the mere materialistic side of Church discipline receives more attention than the higher idealistic teaching, or that when the doctrine is discussed it is chiefly from a materialistic standpoint. But since the average Englishman is materialistic, the few earnest thinkers who have endeavoured to revive the idealism of the national religion which had lain dormant for a century find themselves far in advance of the rest of the country, and we must therefore be as careful not to lay too great stress upon their opinions as representative of the majority as we are to disregard the agitation of a few fanatics in the opposite materialistic direction.

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Section IX.—Christian Ethics

In the discussion of questions of Ethics, the difficulty of first deciding what is ideal and what material does not exist, for it is obvious that every word or action necessarily is material. But both the doctrine and the ceremonial are very important because it is the condition of the mind which they create which determines the depth to which the principles of the ethical precepts will sink, and the ultimate effect on the life of the person. Now the worship of God the Father who is abstract and God the Holy Ghost who is ideal, can instil no ethical precepts at all, and it is the study of the material life of God the Son which alone can help us in attaining to a high ethical standard of life. And that this is so is proved by the fact that in all religions the abstract God is present, but the practical ethics are the outcome of some prophet or teacher such as Buddha, Mahomet, Confucius.

Now the first ethical precept is Love, and this is the one which before all others it should be our duty to try and inculcate in ourselves and others.

It is the spirit of love which prompts both the poor and the rich to perform acts of almsgiving, which prompts the working man to adopt —often irrational—methods of bettering the condition of his class, which prompts the rich to contribute from their wealth towards the maintenance of their less fortunate brethren, which prompts the practical politician to legislate so that the heaviest burdens shall fall on the strongest shoulders, and which prompts writers, thinkers and philosophers of

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the most diverse orders to preach the doctrine of universal altruism.

The next great Christian precept is Charity. Charity is Justice. It is not only a charitable act for the strong to help the weak but a just one; when we refuse to judge others without absolute proofs of their guilt, we are not charitable but just; when we give the fallen one more chance of rising, we are performing, not an act of charity, but of justice. The national mind is imbued throughout with this sense of justice, but how few remember its origin, and how many attribute it to civilisation, to good laws, to common sense, to anything and everything except the teachings of Jesus Christ.

The next is Equity. Love your neighbour as yourself. Do unto others as you would they should do unto you. Struggling always with the instinctive egoism of the human mind is the acquired sense of honesty. Is the artisan only at work when his master is about? Does the shopkeeper only give us fair measure because he fears detection and prosecution? Is it usual for financiers to rob those who trust them? I say No. Deep down in the mind is the sense of equity; fair work for fair wage; fair measure for fair price; fair interest for fair risk; and this, the language of the modern market place, is the outcome of Christian teaching.

But equity applies also to much higher relationships than that between master and man and buyer and seller. The instinct to maintain inviolate the sacred marriage vow under temptation is due to this deep sense of equity, to the sense of possession by another and of duty to oneself, to the half-felt sense of duty to society, and this feeling almost instinctive now in

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all pure women, is largely the outcome of the ethics taught by Jesus Christ. The duty of child to parent, neighbour to neighbour, and man to God, in fact all the principles which govern our daily lives, have been taught from age to age until they have developed into an essential and fixed portion of our psychological economy.

But the danger is lest we forget how much of the ordinary practice of honesty, justice, love, and even respectability is due to the constant practice and teaching of the Christian religion; lest having climbed the mountain of civilisation, and reached the highest peak, we should be inclined to destroy our landmarks and dismiss our guides, forgetting that one slip may precipitate us into the gulf of anarchy, there to remain, without love or wisdom, wistfully gazing upon the position which we, in our blind folly, had lost for ever.

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CHAPTER XI

POPULAR POLITICS

Section I.—The Popular Mind

I DO not propose to attempt a description of the popular mind here because I recently published a work entirely devoted to that subject, but it is necessary briefly to refer to the general conclusions stated therein in order that we may appreciate the light in which practical political questions are regarded by the majority. To acquire a knowledge of politics necessitates as careful a study of history, law, economics, ethics, theology, and the moral sciences as the preparation to be a physician necessitates the study of anatomy, chemistry, physiology and medicine, but whereas no one is allowed to practise as a doctor without such a preparatory course, and without proving himself efficient in such subjects, each one by his vote practises as a politician. It is therefore obviously the duty of everyone to endeavour to acquaint himself, not only with a special subject by which he may benefit others by his skill, but also with a knowledge of politics, so that his voice in the affairs of his country may have some value, and not be a mere echo of the opinion of some leader, or depend upon some chance wave of feeling which temporarily passes over the country. But the average man, although as ignorant of politics as he is of art or science, nevertheless often expresses

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opinions on all those subjects, and as we should expect such opinions are not supported by reasons and based on knowledge, but depend upon the simple fact whether the political measure or the work of art appeals to his untutored mind as just or good. Definitions in psychology are extremely dangerous things since it is impossible to demonstrate the subtle differences in individual minds, but it is necessary to give some idea what we mean when we speak of the intellectual and the ignorant. The great difference between the two is that whereas the former chiefly judge questions by the reason, the latter are almost entirely swayed by their feelings. By the intellectual we mean those who have endeavoured to cultivate their minds equally in all directions, and are consequently actuated in a less degree than others by the prejudices peculiar to those of the same nation, sect, class, and special occupation. By the ignorant we mean those who are only acquainted with one speciality, and know nothing of other subjects, who imagine that all religions except their own are necessarily wrong, and that their own class is the most powerful, or useful, or moral in the community, and that their own country is superior in every respect to every other.

Put into plain words, the narrow-minded folly of such ideas is at once obvious, whether perchance they can be justified by reason or not, but there is no doubt that they actuate nearly the whole of the human race.

It is not broad principles grasped only by broad minds which govern the actions of the majority, but petty prejudices; it is not the general ultimate re-

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sult of policy which is judged, but the minor details; it is not the great mind of a man in its entirety which commands admiration, fear or hatred, but the isolated acts of courage, skill, honesty, deceit or morality which chiefly determine the light in which our leading men are regarded.

Most of this chapter must of necessity consist of truisms, but we will be as brief as possible in sketching the forces which act upon the mind of the average Englishman.

Section II.—Psychological Forces

(1) Egoism.—This is the first law of nature, and is seen in every living organism. We should therefore expect that under normal circumstances the political action which the average man takes would vary according to the effect of the proposed measure on himself. The repeal of the corn laws was opposed by those who thought they would lose by the new fiscal system, and supported by those who desired a cheap loaf, but neither side at the time could have foreseen the immense benefits of Free Trade to everyone. The various reform measures were agitated for by those who had no vote, and resisted by those who thought their privileges were being encroached upon. But it is unnecessary to multiply instances, for with a little thought we can connect the political action of almost everyone with one or other variety of egoism.

(2) Altruism.—The struggle of each against the world is modified to a certain limited extent by the feeling of pity for those who are in a less fortunate position, and during this century, at least, a con-

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siderable portion of humanitarian legislation has not only been hastened by the agitation of those who would directly profit by it, but has been little resisted by those classes who could not possibly be benefited. The whole of the Factory Acts and other laws dealing with the safety and health of artisans are of this nature, whereas those regulating Trade Unions and Friendly Societies were due almost entirely to agitation, and were only passed when their public necessity became apparent. Public Health Acts benefit the whole community alike, and are brought about neither by individual egoism nor altruism.

(3) Materialism.—The average man is frankly material. Anything he does not understand, and which cannot be easily demonstrated to his satisfaction, he regards as unpractical, and the idealists and those of highly developed imaginations he regards as harmless theorists. The disgraceful persecutions of the Roman Catholics at the beginning of the last century were due to fear of the return of the Stuart rule and the iniquities experienced before the Reformation, and were not due to any active hostility to their doctrines, which were as little understood then by the majority as they are now. All the agitations during this century caused by religious questions have been connected with the assumption of territorial titles by the Roman Catholic bishops, the furniture of the Church, the ritual practised, the dress of the clergy, the laws regulating the Church lands and benefices, but discussions on doctrine pure and simple have necessarily been limited to those few who understood the meaning of the term. The Tractarian movement and the Gorham judgment only interested theologians and politicians, and the

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excitement caused in those circles was unknown among the commercial and artisan classes. For although everyone can see for himself if there are pictures on the altar with lighted candles before them, and if the priest elevates the elements or not, very few know the difference between Consubstantiation and Transubstantiation, and when it is explained to the man of common sense, he merely thinks that the definitions quibble with words.

(4) Utilitarianism.—The first thing which the average Englishman asks is, what is the use of it? If the public utility of a measure can be proved, it will be supported by all those who think they will not be injured by it. The various systems of education introduced by Government are based upon the principle of turning out so many people who will be useful in various special occupations. Little attempt is made to develop the mind equally in all directions, because of the necessity of teaching something which can be utilised as a means of earning a living. The result is that minds are developed in narrow grooves, and the individuals are actuated by petty prejudices for their whole lives, are chiefly ruled by their emotions, and are mere machines only capable of performing one act.

(5) Commercialism.—The question what is the use of an action usually means "How do you expect to profit by it?" The ordinary business of life is entirely governed by this consideration. Men work for profit, honour, or rank, and so engrained is this idea that it acts in the most diverse manners. In the council chamber, on the battlefield, in the pulpit, in the market, the

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struggle for decorations, medals, honour, and fortune continues, but how few actions are performed without the possibility of any kind of gain or reward.

The cry of the little Englander is not "how shall we benefit a country by occupying it, but shall we profit by doing so?" For just as gold is the standard of value, and the price of all commodities is expressed in terms of gold, so also the worth of individuals or works is judged by their commercial value. This is natural enough, because only the artistic can appreciate the merits of Raffaele's paintings for example, but everyone can understand that if the nation, acting on the advice of experts, purchased the "Ansidei Madonna" for £70,000, it must be considered, by those best qualified to judge, a magnificent work of art; again, if a singer commands a fabulous sum for rendering one song, the unmusical argue that he must be a first-rate artiste without being able to judge for themselves. But the manager must provide talent which will draw the public, and the public one year are attracted by Beethoven's works and the next by Wagner's, whichever happens to be the fashion, and thus we have first the experts, who dictate what is to be the fashion, and then the crowd who pay anything because it *is* the fashion.

In politics, also, we cannot expect the public to judge whether a man would be likely to make a good statesman, and the choice must therefore be left to the Prime Minister, but, nevertheless, everyone can tell whether any measure is likely to benefit the country or himself commercially.

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But although faith in authority is still the most important factor, the independence of common sense is steadily gaining ground, and the average Englishman considers it a sign of strength to judge for himself, whether he has any knowledge of the subject or not. The managers of art and politics must therefore either educate the public to appreciate their standard of merit, which is a laborious and slow process, or provide them with something which will appeal to one of their natural instincts. For instance, the usual method of attempting to win the working man's vote is to appeal to his pocket, and the following is a copy of a Conservative election handbill in 1899 :—

THE REASON WHY.

"Why should we have a strong Navy?

Because the Bread of the working man depends upon it.

If we went to war and our Navy was defeated, the price of the loaf would rise to above a shilling.

The rich man might pay this, but can you?

Therefore vote for the Unionist Candidate and a strong Navy."

The reasoning is unanswerable and to the point.

It would be ridiculous to attempt to explain the advantages of Imperialism to the working man, but the price of the loaf is always in his mind.

It is thus of the greatest importance that the benefit of all proposed legislation should be easily capable of demonstration, and should be based on justice and utility combined with ultimate public gain.

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But we ought not to lament the materialism and commercialism of the century, because it has raised the physical condition even of the lowest from a state of half fed nakedness and filth to comparative comfort, and has enabled us to spend immense sums in elementary and advanced education, in encouraging scientific research and in procuring many of the finest works of art. The popular taste in music is improving every day, and the character of popular literature proves that a great desire abounds for the acquisition of facts relating to science and manufacture, but history, biography, and the higher criticism appeal only to the few. It is nevertheless a lamentable fact that the leisured classes as a rule do not seem very anxious to cultivate their minds, and as intellectual accomplishments have little market value, they naturally do not appeal to the commercial classes, but possibly in time education will be conducted on sound psychological principles, and until then we cannot expect very much improvement.

(6) Patriotism.—The patriotism of the untravelled consists of a petty and arrogant contempt for foreigners, combined with a wholesome spirit of resistance to all foreign interference. In 1702 the action of King Louis of France in recognising the Pretender as King of England aroused a great emotional wave of indignation in this country, and brought to a climax of war the quarrel which had long estranged the Western powers. The Napoleonic war was continued to prevent the possibility of a French invasion, and the Crimean War was occasioned by the spirit of indignation roused by the Russian aggression on the Turks, and the thoughtless telegram of the German Emperor in

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1896 once more aroused an indignant outcry of "hands off."

Not only does active interference invariably arouse patriotism in this country, but the idea that another nation has stepped in where we ought to have been also stimulates the instinct. The indignation against the Government at the beginning of 1898 was caused, not so much by the fact that they had not annexed territory in China, but because they allowed Russia to do so. Nor do people stop to await the ultimate result of the policy pursued, but judge at once, and this in itself adds to the difficulty of conducting foreign affairs.

To the ignorant almost any action of a fellow countryman directed against another country appears either praiseworthy or at the least excusable, *e.g.* The Jameson Raid, although a similar action directed against a fellow countryman would be absolutely condemned. Nevertheless foreigners individually are allowed to carry on their business in England or in any British colony without any attempt at boycotting, and are received by the community as friends. The patriotism of the practical commercial minded Englishman causes him to agree to greatly increased taxation without a murmur for naval or military purposes, but he grumbles loudly at any increase of the rates for educational or local business. As we have shown above (p. 243) the possession of territory and spheres of commercial influence largely determine the wealth of the country, and for their acquisition and protection a certain sum must annually be expended. Patriotism is thus, in many cases, dependent upon commercial reasoning but nevertheless it often entirely sub-

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ordinates all other instincts. The Irish peasant frankly hates the English, and even the educated Irish Home Rulers are more actuated by the ideal of independence than by the thought that their country would be more prosperous commercially under a Parliament sitting in Dublin. By appropriate stimulation, crowds can be worked up into a frenzy by the word patriotism, just as soldiers will die for the colours, and the force of this form of emotionalism is at the present time far greater than that even of religious enthusiasm.

(7) Justice.—The greatest force which daily influences Englishmen is their sense of justice. In no other country in the world are the effects of this so marked. It causes the great business of the country to be conducted with the minimum of friction, enables the Government to allow an amount of liberty which is greater than any other people experience, prevents excesses being committed during industrial and other disputes, compels orators to moderate their tone and to avoid exaggeration, encourages the police with the idea that they will be aided in their duty of maintaining order, and enforces all to keep their promises and do their duty. Not only in the practical application of the sense of justice to their everyday tasks, but in the broadest meaning of the term the English are essentially just, and anxious and willing both to recognise and reward merit and to detect and punish demerit.

It is this characteristic which caused the agitation against the "rotten borough" system of parliamentary elections, the demand for the secret ballot, the condemnation of all forms of bribery and corruption,

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the agitation against secret commissions in trade, and the desire of everyone to see fair play.

Not only does the sense of justice cause the people to demand that injustice should be rendered impossible by legal enactments, but it also stimulates criticism of the executive action of the Government, so that the appointment of officials is chiefly determined by merit, and they are encouraged to develop the highest instincts of honesty and truth.

(8) The Respect for Law.—In the preceding section, justice has been discussed in the sense of actuating people in their everyday dealings with each other, and this leads naturally to a consideration of the law. To those who are not acquainted with the subject, we may mention that the established law depends upon (1) the habits which have become universal through long-continued custom, and (2) the laws which have been made by Parliament or statute laws, and the interpretations placed upon them by the judges, or case law.

Of these, the first has the greatest hold on the people, and the deep-rooted veneration for the Crown, Church, and Parliament as institutions, is largely due to the fact that they have existed continually for hundreds of years. It is this characteristic which chiefly determines the strength, the stability, and the conservatism of the people, and it is because of it that we escape the frequent changes in our system of government which so characterises the French, and to a lesser degree the Germans and Italians. It is also marked in the Americans, who have been enabled to maintain a system of government embodied in a written document for over a hundred years, although the

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manners and habits of the people have during that period undergone the most radical changes.

Although, therefore, only the few who have leisure to study and means for travelling can understand the reasons why the British Constitution works better than any other, all are actuated by the desire to maintain it on its present foundation, and to adapt its details gradually to meet the requirements of developing society.

Any attempt to force the hand of the Government, such as, for example, the Chartists' agitation, at once causes the whole of the sober-minded to support the law, just as any worthy citizen will, if called upon, aid a policeman to do his duty. Nevertheless, the love of justice is greater than the respect for the law, and the failure to recognise this constituted the great mistake of Charles I. The flippant follies of Charles II. and the stolid stupidity of the Georges caused a constant strain between the desire to enforce justice and to maintain existing institutions, so that open rupture was only prevented by the gradual assumption of responsibility by the Cabinet, which is always open to censure and criticism, without in any way disturbing the legal sanctity of the Sovereign.

But if the respect for law prevented any sympathy being felt for the Chartists' rioting, the sense of justice has since caused the rational half of their demands to be listened to and granted. If the respect for law prevented any sympathy being felt for the rioters who broke down the railings of Hyde Park in 1866, the sense of justice would resent any attempt to shut the parks.

It is then the duty of the Government to adapt the law to meet the requirements of justice, and it is

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the happy fate of our legislators that they have always recognised the righteous demands of the people in time to avert the social cataclysms which have periodically upset continental Governments.

Section III.—Popular Ideas on Party Politics

It will be readily admitted by all who have discussed political subjects with all classes of the community that, apart from the questions of the hour, any knowledge of political principles is as rare as is the appreciation of the classics of music, art or literature. Yet nearly every man in the upper and middle classes calls himself a Conservative or Liberal, and some artisans also remain fairly constant to one party. The reasons which determine the party to which individuals belong are thus to be sought for outside the regions of political philosophy, and can be stated as falling generally under one of three heads. These are (1) the political faith of the parents, (2) faith in certain political authorities, and (3) the general intelligence of the individual.

(1) Although the respect of children for their parents' opinions is at the present time not very well marked, and is certainly not increased by the various absurd methods adopted for enforcing discipline, yet undoubtedly the psychological atmosphere in which the average child is reared influences his ideas throughout life. The man of thirty to-day, who has been educated at a public school and university, or at a board school, and in a factory will, as a rule, adopt the sect and party of his parents, and, in the middle classes, petty family feuds are often occasioned by the secession of one member from either.

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The average man who reads the newspaper and attends the place of worship of his parents, has his mind constantly filled with the arguments of the party which the journal supports, and the doctrine of the preacher, so that in time the reiterated suggestion grows into and becomes incorporated with his mind, and he thus is not only to a great extent ignorant of the arguments of others, but is prejudiced against them, by the knowledge which has become almost instinctive.

It is not, therefore, any exaggerated veneration for the opinion of parents which influences the children so much as the fact that they unconsciously imbibe only one view of the world, and that other views are distorted by the prejudices of the natural teachers.

The writer well remembers that, when a child, he acquired the ideas that a Free Trader was a kind of thief, that Mr Gladstone was a wicked man and Mr Disraeli a good one, and that a Home Ruler was a person who shot landlords from behind hedges. Some such extraordinary ideas are probably common in most children who think at all, and although modified in after life, no doubt to a great extent affect the political action of those busy people who have no time to study the subject, and are only interested in the welfare of their country in so far as it affects themselves.

(2) Faith in authority.—At the present time, the admiration for politicians as intellectual men, and the respect for them as orators and statesmen, is not nearly so great as during the middle and early years of the century, although there is no doubt no degeneration in their characters has really taken place. Outside political circles it is a constant cry

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that politicians are actuated chiefly by self-seeking motives, are not absolutely truthful and honourable with each other, and think more of the approbation of the majority than of that of their own consciences. Now politicians are naturally actuated by the same instincts as other men, but they labour always in public, and consequently their faults are always noted and exaggerated. We all know that every dealing of every manufacturer or merchant is conducted with the hope of making a profit, and similarly most politicians strive to make a reputation and strive for popularity which alone can lead them to power. The private lives of eminent public men only are subjected to searching criticism, and the accounts eagerly read, and naturally only those portions which are easily understood are noted or remembered. It thus happens that the only knowledge most people have of Walpole is that he was an immoral and unscrupulous intriguer, and of Pitt and Fox, that they drank too much port, nor do they stop to consider that, considering the standard of their day, they led as high ethical lives as the majority, besides performing great services to their country.

The admiration of many for Mr Gladstone was chiefly due to the fact that he led an exemplary domestic life and was actively religious, and not to appreciation of his intellect and talents, which could only be understood by the few, for it is a curious fact that although the nineteenth century will always be conspicuous for its materialism and commercialism, yet the majority have a sneaking admiration for the men who are courageous enough to live a high ideal life, who can control the lower passions and instincts, and who do actions which cannot possibly benefit

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themselves. On the other hand, great numbers who professed to "hate" Mr Gladstone, if asked why, stated that "he killed Gordon," and actually could not name one of his reform measures.

When he adopted Home Rule the argument of a certain section of the Press was chiefly based on faith in authority (see p. 386), and many followed him because they had an idea that he was a strictly good and moral man. Again, we constantly hear as an argument in favour of the measures of a statesman that he is intellectual and obtained a double first at Oxford or Cambridge thirty or forty years earlier. Now, anyone who has had any experience of examinations knows that they test chiefly the memory, and the argument that the qualifications which would be of eminent service to a tutor are of any use to a statesman is as absurd as that an eminent theologian would make a good soldier. Although Peel and Gladstone were scholars, Pitt, Walpole, Disraeli and Palmerston were certainly not, and although mathematical genius is essential in finance, a broad knowledge of the human race—rarely found in bookworms—is of greater use to statesmen.

(3) General Intelligence.—The majority of people neither think nor read anything serious, and are quite unable to reason; a few think for themselves but do not take the trouble to study; the minority both think and study.

The first large class have thus no pronounced opinions on politics and know nothing of general principles, but are actuated entirely in their political actions by the feelings of the moment. If trade is bad during one Ministry, the other side is given a chance; if a successful war is carried on, the Ministry

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is credited with it, and *vice versâ*; if any restrictions are put upon the liberty of the individual, discredit falls upon the Government; if taxation is increased the Government becomes unpopular; if they don't legislate much they are not doing their duty; if they over legislate "they are tinkering with the Constitution"; but the various causes which influence the politics of the thoughtless are too numerous to mention.

The second class consist of those who think but do not study politics; it includes men of the highest education in their own specialities but who have no knowledge of history, economy and law, and those of little education but some power of reasoning. Now, probably, every thoughtful child constructs some Utopia wherein everyone is happy and poverty unknown, and many in after life are actuated entirely by the idea that the rich and successful ought to be taxed more and more and the poor failures helped by the State, but only the students of history and public affairs know the disastrous results which have followed the indiscriminate distribution of aid to the idle and profligate.

This class naturally also contains the individuals who embrace some form of Socialism and construct various theoretical systems of Communism and Collectivism, most of which are superficially plausible on paper and show some independent thought and often originality, but clearly prove that their authors are totally ignorant that several of their pet schemes are opposed to all natural law, that they have been tried repeatedly and failed, or that they have only existed for brief periods in the lowest conditions of civilisation.

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The third class are those who are both able to reason and study.

General principles can only be grasped by the intellectual; a knowledge of history is necessary in order to understand the gradual growth of civilisation; a knowledge of law to understand how the instinct to uphold existing institutions has grown into the minds of the people, and a knowledge of economy to understand which measures must prove harmful to future generations even if accompanied by a temporary benefit.

Speaking generally, the first class have no fixed politics; the second, are usually Socialists, Republicans, or Radicals; the third, are moderate Liberals or modern Conservatives. Are there such things as natural radical and conservative minds apart from opportunism, egoism, faith in parents and other authorities and general intelligence? I think there are, but although they are easy to diagnose they are very difficult to describe in words. Of course the rabid Radical and the stupid Tory present well marked characteristics which are as pronounced as they are contemptible, but the man of moderate common sense is neither of these.

If we attempt to analyse the mind of the average Radical or Conservative, we find that both are loyal to the Crown and Constitution, both have a reverence for the aristocracy of birth and strive to be received into the class next above them in the social scale; both are equally careful of their own interests and both are actuated by general feelings of humanity. But many Radicals consider it wrong, *e.g.*, to occupy the Soudan and to partition China on the principle

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that we are not justified in interfering with the affairs of any other country under *any* circumstances, even if a tyrant be murdering his own subjects or raiding weaker tribes, and has proved himself absolutely incapable of maintaining order or civilisation. This extreme respect for the independence of nations is no new development, but it is only lately that it has been extended to uncivilised and savage tribes.

Although the lack of patriotism of Radicals is very marked they do not appear to be conscious of it, and endeavour to explain that they only wish for common fairness to all, but there can be no doubt that they always attribute lower motives to their own countrymen than to others, and although not always really pleased when they are defeated yet usually say "it serves them right."

Sometimes the argument is used that a bad reverse would be for the ultimate good of the country just as a whipping is for a child, and we have even heard the curious contention that since the Radicals desire that their own country should sometimes be thrashed as a salutary lesson, therefore they must be more patriotic than the Conservatives. This interesting psychological characteristic seems to be present in individuals of all nations and a Radical friend, who was through the Greco-Turkish war, told me he met a Greek who was patriotic enough to risk his life for his country but nevertheless wished the Turks would reach Athens because he thought it would do Greece good, but in what manner he did not specify. But we very much doubt if this high theoretical

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ideal is the real cause of this feeling for the simple reason that the possessor of a typical radical mind under all circumstances decries his own country and does not attempt to assert that it *always* requires whipping.

We must conclude, therefore, that if the uncultured and untravelled Conservative can justly be accused of an exaggerated idea of the superiority of his own country and its institutions, the uncultured and untravelled Radical can as justly be accused of an exaggerated respect for those of foreign countries and a tendency to undervalue those of his own. During the French Revolution the extreme Radicals pointed to France, even during the reign of terror, as a free country, and during the Chartists' agitation the Continental Revolutions of 1848 were held up as models to be copied.

The average Conservative is more passive than the Radical and is more content to follow his leader without question,[1] hence the party as a whole is more homogeneous and less inclined to split up into sections. The Radical, on the other hand, although less influenced by faith in authority and more inclined to think for himself, is just as ignorant of politics and is no more able to reason and so is far more difficult to bring into line. The Radicals are more individualistic and argue that everyone should think and act on his own responsibility, but in practice would impose more stringent regulations on the ritual of public worship, on the relationship between employer and employee and on the regulation of industry than would the Conservatives.

[1] This only applies to the Conservative voter and not to the active Member of Parliament.

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The Radicals again argue in favour of liberty but in practice would allow the people by a simple vote to govern the country if the House of Lords were abolished, and although both parties legislate as much as can possibly be compressed into the sessions, the Radicals still profess to be the party of Reform.

If the Conservatives are too much in favour of freedom of contracts, and are slower to prevent the strong oppressing the weak, the landlord rack-renting his tenant and the Jew extracting his pound of flesh, the Radical would interfere too much to allow healthy competition, and if by his restrictions he prevented fraud, he would also paralyse industry.

But the people, as a whole, take little interest in politics, have long lost their faith in the "vote" as a panacea for all social ills, and so long as they are in receipt of good wages and cheap food, do not care which party is in power, and if it were not for the action of the Press, the strenuous efforts of canvassers, and the system of party organisation, it is very doubtful if more than half of the British working men, in times of prosperity, would vote at all.

Section IV.—The Instinct for Liberty

The first prominent object one sees on entering New York harbour is the statue of Liberty, symbolical of the fact that the United States govern themselves and are not British Colonies. The thoughtful person at once notices, however, that the amount of individual liberty in the States is far less than in England.

The American who purchases his clothes in

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Europe has to run the gauntlet of having his portmanteaus rummaged before a dockyard crowd, and he is heavily taxed in order to induce him to support his own inferior tailors. If a newspaper in this *free* country dares to protest against such despotism, the great drapers and tailors withdraw their advertisements from its columns and attempt by this means to ruin it. But the whole institution of fiscal duties proves that the few responsible statesmen who understand their disadvantages are not free to act, and are dictated to by the rings of manufacturers and merchants. In fact, the whole political system is one great chain of corruption and bribery, and liberty of thought and action is scarcely apparent at all.

On the other hand, if one goes into a government office, and naturally removes one's hat, a good-natured official will perhaps say, "Put on your hat, this is a free country"; and although in a free country no one will clean one's boots if they are off one's feet, if one puts them on and descends to the basement of the hotel, the boot-black will condescend to polish them for fifteen cents.

By such small artifices is created the idea among the "citizens" in the States that they enjoy more freedom than the people in other countries; but the English traveller speedily finds several vexatious rules with which he is unacquainted at home.

Liberty means in England that every man is allowed to live and conduct his business with only such a minimum of restriction as is necessary for the welfare of the whole community, for no interference with the subject is just, unless the necessity of it can be clearly demonstrated.

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The possibility of allowing the maximum of liberty depends upon the fact that the laws fulfil the necessities of rigid justice, and that the people observe the laws.

The amount of liberty allowed to the Press, and to public expression of opinion, is a direct measure of the strength of the nation, but everyone admits the necessity of the laws for punishing libel or defamation of character. A man is at perfect liberty to make a beast of himself in the street by being drunk, but if he interferes with the comfort of the passers-by, he must be arrested. A man ought to be, and is, allowed freedom of conscience provided that the practical application of his views does not injure others.

Now it is obvious that non-attendance at church, the practice of affirming instead of taking an oath, and the allowing of perfect liberty in the practice of any and all kinds of religious worship can do no harm provided that the physical welfare and spiritual happiness of the public is not affected; but there can be no doubt that prolonged fasting and meditation, and the excitement of hearing frenzied oratory, accounts even now for the majority of cases of religious lunacy and neuroses. Since, however, all mental phenomena are extremely uncertain and difficult to demonstrate to those unacquainted with them, and physical laws can be understood by all, it has happened that the former have been largely neglected, and the latter received an undue amount of attention.

Although there were many penal laws against Roman Catholics and Nonconformists during the eighteenth century, no one suggested that the preach-

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ing of Wesley ought to be stopped on the ground that it was a fertile cause of hysteria. Indeed the liberty of the conscience has gradually advanced with the liberty of the subject, until now a man can practically advance any doctrine without fear, and we are confronted with the great danger that liberty of conscience may be allowed to interfere with the due performance of necessary physical regulations.

A man objects to vaccination on conscientious grounds, and it depends entirely on the opinion of the magistrate whether he shall be allowed to risk the health of the whole community; but we do not wish to discuss this well-worn subject here, but merely to indicate the danger of the general principle.

The specialists on the subject are unanimous that vaccination is necessary, but those who know nothing of pathology insist that they shall use their own judgment, and the Government must obey. Next year we shall expect that agitation will be directed against trapping drains or notifying scarlet fever, and the mighty mass of common sense will order the Government to excuse everyone who has a "conscientious" objection to traps or notification. There is indeed no limit to the possibilities; the burglar will have a conscientious objection to going to prison, the soldier to carrying a rifle, until conscientious liberty will develop into anarchy. It is perhaps needless to remark that "conscientious" liberty is not recognised in the United States, and in Texas those who placed their own fads above the level of the good of the whole were vaccinated at the point of the bayonet.[1] When the independent man of common

[1] *British Medical Journal*, April 29th, 1899, p. 1052.

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sense invents his own religion, we shall require no theologians, but merely a cipher who shall conduct the service drawn up by the congregation; when he has developed a conscientious objection to a scientific system of medicine we shall require no doctors, but merely chemists to dispense his prescriptions; and when he designs his own bridges and houses, the engineer and architect will disappear. The County Council is already entrusted with the beautifying of London, and the Government has been asked to superintend the decoration of St Pauls.

It is not a cheerful outlook. Sturdy independence is a great sign of strength in those who have the opportunity of studying subjects, men, and countries for themselves, and are possessed of powerful intellects; but the obstinacy of the common-sense mind is a most dangerous force, because it insists upon forming and acting upon conclusions, based upon a little evidence, which is neither properly sorted nor arranged, and which is distorted by prejudices, exaggerated by the emotions and uncontrolled by the reason. But since the spirit of independence is growing so rapidly, it behoves us to increase the facilities for acquiring real knowledge, and for developing minds in every direction. If people insist upon ordering their own religion, they must be taught theology and ecclesiastical history; if they wish to settle their own sanitary regulations, they must be taught medicine and sanitary science; but, under any circumstances, education must be adapted for training the reason, and the subordination of the unit being to the whole community must be rigidly insisted upon.

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CHAPTER XII

THE BALANCE OF POWER

Section I.—Analysis of Opinion

We are now in a position to study collectively the various forces which have determined the political history of the nineteenth century, and for this purpose I have constructed a table recapitulating the various opinions of those who have actuated the machine of State (see p. 465).

(*a*) The Act of Union with Ireland.

This measure was instigated by the Ministry and supported by the King and the English Houses of Parliament.

The Irish Houses of Parliament and the Irish Press were bribed; the Irish people were little interested in the measure and the English people were absolutely indifferent. The chief force acting here was the will of the Ministers.

(*b*) The Napoleonic War.

The Ministers were drawn into the war but at first were constantly endeavouring to arrange a satisfactory peace. The King was very reluctant to compromise the prestige of the country, distrusted and hated Bonaparte, and was therefore adverse to concluding a peace unless it was absolutely necessary. The Lords and Commons understood the necessity of the war, but the Whig opposition steadily cavilled at the measures of the Ministries. The

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most influential newspapers were in favour of continuing the war until Bonaparte was absolutely destroyed, but the Whig organs steadily attacked the Government and professed to be sceptical as to the power of the country to crush the French. The public were much disturbed by fear and hatred of Bonaparte and rejoiced at news of his defeats. The chief forces acting were the wills of George III. and Pitt in the early days of the war, and the firmness of Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh afterwards.

(*c*) The Settlement of 1815.

This was arranged and conducted by the Tory Ministers, and the influence of the Regent was at this period very slight. Since the action was purely an executive one, the Houses of Parliament could only express approval or criticise. The Press and public were strongly anti-French and wished to reduce French territory, but the Ministers did not follow their suggestions.

(*d*) The attempt to divorce the Queen.

The Ministers were persuaded by George IV. to try the Queen in the House of Lords and the House of Commons supported the Government. The Press and public were strongly in favour of the Queen and exerted such a powerful influence that the action was dropped.

(*e*) Catholic Emancipation.

This was absolutely prohibited by George III. and resisted by George IV. until it was impossible to find a Government which was not pledged to it. The House of Lords resisted it until Peel recognised the futility of further opposition. The House of Commons was gradually converted to the measure and finally passed it by a large majority. The Press

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was divided and the public feared for the Protestant Religion. The chief force which passed this measure was the will of the House of Commons.

(*f*) Greek Independence.

The chief forces in favour of Greek independence were the wills of Canning and his followers. The King and the old Tories were only in favour of limited concessions. The Press and public sympathised with the Greeks and were opposed to the Ottoman rule.

(*g*) The Reform Bill of 1832.

This was the natural result of constant agitation for Reform for fifty years. The Radical Press worked upon the public mind and gradually the most important Liberal and independent organs were converted. The Irish members in the Commons joined with the Reformers and thus ensured a majority. The King resisted until he found it impossible to carry on the Government, and the Lords resisted until the King had promised to create more peers if necessary.

(*h*) The Bedchamber Question.

This is of interest chiefly because it is the last instance in English history where the Monarch acted entirely upon her own ideas. The Whig Ministers resumed office but did not think that Peel's demand was beyond his constitutional right. The organs of the Press followed their parties and the public sympathised with and admired the firmness of the Queen.

(*i*) Free Trade.

The repeal of the Corn Laws was brought about by the agitation of the commercial classes led by Messrs Cobden and Bright. The Press was, to a

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great extent, won over to Free Trade, and after Lord John Russell was converted, Peel brought in his measure which was supported by some Conservatives and by most of the Whigs and all the Radicals and Irish. The Lords passed the Bill and the Queen was in favour of a readjustment of the Corn Laws.

(*k*) Chartism.

The demands of the Chartists were not unreasonable, and were discussed with modified approval by the chief organs of the Press, which, however, unanimously condemned any attempt to intimidate the Government. The majority in the Commons refused to grant the six points of the charter, but allowed the monster petition to be peacefully presented. The Ministers took every precaution to prevent serious rioting.

(*l*) The Crimean War.

The Queen, Prince Consort, and the Ministers recognised that war was inevitable. The members of both Houses of Parliament, except the Manchester peace party, were in favour of war. The Press was practically unanimous in favour of war, and the public clamoured that the Russians should not oppress the Turks. In this case all the forces in the kingdom were acting in the same direction.

(*m*) The Reform Bill of 1867.

The Reform League had a fairly large following of intelligent artisans. After Disraeli had brought in his measure, which was extensively amended by Gladstone, the Conservative organs, for the most part, gave it a half-hearted welcome. The Bill passed the Commons with the aid of the Liberals and Radicals, and, although opposed, passed the

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Lords because it was sent up by a Conservative Government.

(*n*) Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

This was a purely ministerial measure. No agitation in its favour occurred in Ireland, and the English were naturally not interested in it. The Press for the most part approved, and the opposition of Disraeli and the Conservatives in the Commons was merely due to the fact that the seats on which they sat were opposite to the Treasury bench. The Conservative Lords amended and disputed, but finally passed the Bill.

(*o*) The Education Bill.

This was approved by all. The only point of contention was that of sectarian or non-sectarian teaching.

(*p*) The Berlin Congress.

The action of Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury was directed with the object of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and of inducing Turkey to attempt internal reforms. The balance of power was arranged by Russia annexing Kars and Batoum and England occupying Cyprus. The ministerial action was supported by the Conservatives, but vigorously criticised by the Radicals. The Press followed the parties, and the public were carried away by a wave of hero worship.

(*q*) The Bombardment of Alexandria and the Occupation of Egypt.

The restoration of order in Egypt was relegated to the English Government alone when France refused to co-operate. After the bombardment, it became obvious that the Government were not prepared for an extensive occupation of Egypt. Bright resigned from the Ministry, but both parties

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voted for the credit to carry on the operations. The Press supported the Government, and the public were chiefly interested in the naval and military operations. The delay in rescuing Gordon caused a great wave of indignation throughout the country.

(*r*) Home Rule for Ireland.

Mr Gladstone was suddenly converted when he discovered he could not command a majority without the aid of the Irish. Lord Hartington and Mr Chamberlain seceded from his party. The Press practically unanimously condemned the measure and the Commons rejected it. The 1892 measure was forced through the Commons by the aid of the closure, but was thrown out by the Lords by 419 to 41 votes.

(*s*) China and Egypt.

It is too soon to criticise the policy of Lord Salisbury in China, but he seems to be following the precedent adopted in regard to the Ottoman Empire, and endeavouring either to maintain the Celestial Empire intact, or to ensure that the balance of power in the far East shall not be altered. So far he has been adversely criticised by the Press. In Egypt the success of Lord Kitchener has won for him the well-deserved admiration of all, and the policy of the Government has been steadily supported by the Conservative party, while the Liberals no longer desire the evacuation of the country.

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ANALYSIS OF OPINION

Date.	Action or Measure.	The Crown.	The Ministers.	House of Lords.	House of Commons.	The Press.	The Public.
1800.	Act of Union with Ireland.	George III. supported the measure, because he thought that the uniting the Churches of the two countries would stop any further measures with respect to the Roman Catholics.	Pitt was very anxious to pass the Act of Union, because he feared a total separation of the two countries, and took the opportunity of the unfortunate state of Ireland to force the measure through Parliament.	The Irish House obeyed the Government, and many members were won over by the promise of honours. The English House followed Pitt.	In the Irish House the free country members opposed, but the placemen and borough members, who formed a majority, were bought over. Grattan, Plunket and Foster opposed. The English Commons followed Pitt.	The Irish Press was heavily bribed to support the measure, and the English Press for the most part did not comment upon it at all.	A great portion of the Irish public was indifferent, and only opposed to tithes. Catholics generally were in favour of it, and Protestants opposed it. The Orange Society opposed, the United Irishmen wished for, a total separation.
1795 to 1815.	The Napoleonic War.	George III. was opposed to negotiations for peace in 1797, and in 1800 refused to treat for peace "whilst the French principles exist." The Regent was also very much opposed to negotiate with Bonaparte.	Pitt several times attempted to negotiate a peace. Fox and Grenville tried to arrange a satisfactory treaty. Liverpool and Castlereagh were in favour of continuing the war until Napoleon was absolutely subdued.	The Lords were in favour of continuing the war until Napoleon was entirely conquered.	The Commons voted all the necessary supplies cheerfully. The Tories had a large majority, and the Whigs therefore always failed to censure the Government. The Whigs constantly agitated for peace, and opposed the Orders in Council, although the Whig Ministry had instituted them.	The *Times*, *Courier*, *Sun*, *Morning Post*, and the *Quarterly* were strongly in favour of carrying on the war until Bonaparte was absolutely crushed. The *Morning Chronicle* wished to negotiate for peace on every possible occasion, and the *Edinburgh Review* was both anti-Bonaparte and anti-Bourbon.	The public feared and hated Bonaparte and regarded him as an incarnate devil. They were willing to undergo great sacrifices in order to defeat and crush him. Nelson and Wellington were of course the people's idols.

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Date	Action or Measure.	The Crown.	The Ministers.	House of Lords.	House of Commons.	The Press.	The Public.
1815.	The Vienna Treaty and the Holy Alliance.	The Regent was in sympathy with the monarchical Powers, but had little faith in the Holy Alliance, and could not by the forms of the Constitution sign it.	Liverpool and Castlereagh agreed with Metternich, and wished to strengthen the French Government against the possibility of revolution, and were not in favour of reducing French territory.	The action of Liverpool and Castlereagh was strongly supported.	Generally approved of the settlement arranged and the action of the executive.	Very few comments in the Press regarding the Vienna Treaty, although it was published in full. General agreement that it was necessary to bolster up the new French Government, and that France should pay for the war.	The public were so overjoyed at the downfall of Napoleon that it manifested but little interest in the settlement of the Continent, but there was a general feeling that France should pay for the war by ceding territory.
1820.	Attempt to divorce Queen Caroline.	George IV. was very anxious to divorce his Queen and beget an heir to the throne.	The Ministers were persuaded to try the Queen before the House of Lords. Canning left the country, and Peel refused a post in the Cabinet, so that he could have a free hand in the debates. The Ministers soon dropped the Divorce Bill.	The Divorce Bill was carried by nine in the House of Lords, but afterwards dropped.	The Radicals in the House were in favour of the Queen, and strongly opposed the action of the Ministers. The motion to censure the Ministers in 1821 was, however, rejected by 146.	The *Political Register* supported the Queen, and the *Times* thought her innocent. The *Courier* and *New Times* supported the Ministry. The *Morning Post* thought the Queen ought to submit to her trial. The Radical Press endeavoured to make capital by attaching themselves to the Queen.	Popular feeling was strongly in favour of the Queen, and the Radicals poured in addresses assuring her of their support. She was apparently regarded as a martyr to an autocratic monarch and a Tory Government.

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Date.	Action or Measure.	The Crown.	Ministers.	House of Lords.	House of Commons.	The Press.	The Public.
1800 to 1829.	Catholic Emancipation.	George III. refused to allow relief to Catholics because he feared that by so doing he would break his coronation oath. George IV. steadily opposed the measure, and only yielded when he failed to find Ministers who did not insist on immediate emancipation.	Pitt, Fox, and Canning were always in favour of the measure, and Palmerston and the Liberal Tories supported it. Peel resisted it as long as possible, but afterwards carried the Bill through the Commons.	The Bishops and the majority of the House were strongly opposed to concession, and threw the Bill out once after it had passed the Commons. Afterwards acting under the leadership of Wellington they passed the Bill by a majority about double the minority.	The Whig Party, Canningites, Irish, and the Peelite section of the Tories supported it in 1829, and it passed by 348 to 160. The gradual conversion of the Commons was shown by a steady diminution of votes against emancipation when it was proposed from time to time.	The *Times* early in the century supported the King, but was afterwards converted and supported the measure for relief strongly in 1828. The *Edinburgh Review* supported but the *Quarterly* opposed. The *Morning Chronicle*, *Globe* and *Sun* supported, and the *Age*, *Standard*, *Morning Post*, and *St James's Chronicle* opposed. The provincial organs for the most part opposed.	The public were worked up into a state of fear for the safety of the Protestant constitution by the opposition Press. The old cries of no popery, no slavery, and danger to liberty, powerfully affected the thoughtless and superstitious. No riotous manifestations occurred, but many petitions against the measure were presented.
1825 to 1830.	Greek Independence.	George IV. had little sympathy with the Turks, but disliked Canning personally, and was prejudiced against his measures.	Canning and Palmerston were in favour of absolute independence, Peel favoured partial freedom, and Wellington and Aberdeen suggested independence under the suzerainty of the Porte.	The old Tories followed Wellington and Aberdeen, and were in favour of maintaining the supremacy of the Ottoman Empire.	The Commons showed a more liberal spirit and sympathised with the Greeks.	The *Times*, *Morning Chronicle*, and *Courier* supported the action of the Government and sympathised with Russia. The *Morning Post* opposed the Government and the Russian action in declaring war.	Popular sympathy was undoubtedly with the Greeks, and opposed to the Sultan's pretentions.

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Date.	Action or Measure.	The Crown.	Ministers.	House of Lords.	House of Commons.	The Press.	The Public.
1830 to 1832.	The Reform Bill.	William IV. resisted as long as possible, but when he was converted in favour of an extensive measure of reform he insisted on giving the Whig Ministers absolute "fair play," and refused to discuss more plans with the Tories.	Lord John Russell and Earl Grey's Cabinet were united in bringing in a measure of sweeping reform.	Wellington and the Tories hotly opposed the measure, and threw it out in 1831, but were persuaded to pass it after the threat of the creation of new peers had been uttered.	The Irish members supported and thus ensured a majority for the Bill. It was opposed hotly by Peel and the Tories.	The *Edinburgh* supported and the *Quarterly* opposed. The *Spectator*, *Times*, *Morning Herald*, *Globe*, and *Sun* supported and the *Standard* opposed. The provincial organs followed their party principles, but mostly supported the Government.	A very strong feeling in favour of Reform had been growing for fifty years. After the Bill of 1831 had been thrown out riots and disturbances occurred all over the country.
1839.	The Bedchamber Question.	The Queen refused to dismiss her ladies-in-waiting because she thought it "was contrary to usage and repugnant to her feelings." She was undoubtedly prejudiced against the Tories when young by her early training. After Peel had refused to form a Government Melbourne resumed power, but the Ministers considered that Peel had acted constitutionally.		The Upper House took no action in the matter.	Peel explained his action at length to the House of Commons, but it was of course not within its power to take any action.	The *Spectator* approved of Peel's action. The *Times* censured Melbourne for appointing Whig ladies. The *Morning Chronicle* and *Morning Advertiser* condemned the attempt of the Tories to gain too much power and tried to convert it into a party question.	The public undoubtedly considered that Peel had overstated his prerogative and admired the young Queen for the firm stand she had taken.

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Date.	Action or Measure.	The Crown and the Ministers.	House of Lords.	House of Commons.	The Press.	The Public.
1840 to 1846.	Free Trade.	The Queen thought the readjustment of the Corn Laws was both "just and wise" and encouraged Sir Robert Peel to endure the abuse of "so many of his party." After Peel had been converted, Wellington although differing from him, decided to support the measure, and Graham also remained loyal to his chief, but Stanley seceded from him.	The Upper House were strongly opposed to the measure, but as it was sent up by a Conservative Minister passed it.	The number on the Second Reading were :— Ayes— Ministerialists, 112. Whigs and Radicals, 227. Noes— Protectionists Conservatives, 231. Whig Protectionists, 11. Disraeli, Bentinck and the country party strongly opposed Cobden, Bright, and the Irish supported the measure.	The Anti-Corn Law League had its own organs and issued many pamphlets. The *Quarterly* opposed and the *Edinburgh* supported. The *Spectator*, *Times*, *Chronicle* and *Punch* supported. The *Morning Post* and *Morning Herald* opposed. The provincial organs carried on the arguments strongly and were fairly equally divided.	Among the artisans in the towns the promise of a cheap loaf naturally enlisted their support to the measure. The agriculturists on the other hand thought they would be ruined. As usual, among the thoughtless, both the good and evil results expected to follow were grossly exaggerated.
1848.	Chartism.	The Queen and Prince regarded the rioting with some anxiety, but never for a moment doubted the loyalty of all classes to the monarchy. The Government actively resisted all attempts at intimidation and took the greatest precautions lest the monster meeting on Kennington Common should be followed by a dangerous conflict between the people and the police.	Were in favour of strong measures of repression, and the punishment of all active agitators.	The six points of the Charter were demanded by O'Connor and the Radicals but were opposed by the rest of the House. The Government was supported in its efforts to maintain order by everyone, and the petition was peacefully presented.	The *Quarterly* advocated repression in the early stages of disorder. *The Edinburgh* did not object to Reform but did to Revolution by force. The *Spectator*, *Times*, *Punch* and other organs did not oppose altogether the points of the Charter, but objected to the methods of the Chartists. The *Northern Star* and the Radical organs supported the Chartists.	Most of the respectable working men would not associate themselves with the disorderly rabble who were collected together to convey the monster petition to Parliament. Most thoughtful people considered the points of the Charter must be granted, but that the time was not opportune.

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Date.	Action or Measure.	The Crown and the Ministers.	House of Lords.	House of Commons.	The Press.	The Public.
1853 to 1854.	The Crimean War.	The Queen and Prince thought that Russian aggression should be strongly resisted, and after the war considered that Russia should have been punished more severely than she was. Aberdeen refused to believe that war was inevitable until the last moment, but Palmerston and Russell understood its necessity from the first. Gladstone reluctantly acquiesced and prepared the war budget.	Were in favour of upholding the integrity of the Ottoman Empire by war if necessary.	The whole of the House, except the Cobdenite Peace Party, recognised that war was necessary and inevitable. The mismanagement of the war led to very strong adverse criticism of the Government, and Russell resigned, and the Ministry was soon after defeated.	The *Quarterly*, *Edinburgh*, *Times*, *Spectator*, *Daily News*, *Morning Post*, *Punch*, *Morning Chronicle* and nearly all the chief provincial papers agreed that war was necessary to curb the aggression of Russia.	The public, led by the Press, clamoured for war all over the country. The idea that the Czar of Russia wished to aggrandise himself at the expense of Turkey caused him to become extremely unpopular, and the French Emperor, our ally, was the hero of the moment.
1867.	The Reform Bill.	Disraeli, recognising that some measure of reform was necessary, after Gladstone's Bill had been defeated, compelled the Conservative Government to follow him and gave a liberal franchise measure to the country.	The Lords strongly objected to the measure, but passed it because it was sent up by a Conservative Minister.	The criticisms of Gladstone and Lowe caused the Bill to be greatly altered in Committee, but it was passed by a combination of Conservatives and Radicals. Cranborne and the old Tories opposed it.	The *Quarterly* strongly opposed the Bill, and The *Edinburgh* supported it. The *Times*, *Saturday Review*, and *Daily News* supported, and The *Spectator* opposed. Many Conservative organs in the country gave it a half-hearted welcome, and the Liberal organs supported it.	The Reform League had a fairly large following of intelligent artizans. The attempt to close Hyde Park against a meeting in July 1866, led to the pulling down of the railings, but, generally speaking, there was no excitement in the country, and most people were indifferent to the measure.

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Date.	Action or Measure	The Crown and the Ministers.	House of Lords.	House of Commons.	The Press.	The Public.
1869.	Disestablishment of the Irish Church.	Gladstone and his Government recognised the injustice of maintaining an established religion to which the great majority of Irish did not conform, and all agreed as to the necessity for Disestablishment.	The Lords amended and disputed, but finally compromised and passed the Bill. Lord Salisbury opposed.	General approval and half-hearted opposition from Disraeli and the Conservatives.	General approval, but some opposition from the Conservative organs.	No agitation for this measure occurred in Ireland. The English public evinced no interest in it.
1870.	The Education Bill.	Forster's measure met with the general approval of the Liberal Government, and its necessity was apparent to all.	Lord Salisbury and some of the Conservatives were in favour of sectarian teaching, but passed the measure.	General approval, but the Conservatives were in favour of sectarian teaching.	The *Quarterly* argued in favour of sectarian teaching. The *Spectator* and *Saturday Review* supported the measure. The Conservative organs, as a rule, wished for sectarian teaching, and the Radicals for undenominational.	No excitement was occasioned over this measure, and it was received with general approval by the public.
1878.	The Berlin Congress.	The object of Disraeli and Lord Salisbury was to maintain the balance of power in the East, and to endeavour to induce Turkey to attempt internal reforms. Russia annexed Kars and Batoum, and England occupied Cyprus, and promised material assistance to the Ottoman Empire if she would abolish some of the abuses in her government.	The House of Lords heartily congratulated the Ministers on their return, and approved of their action in the East.	The Commons also approved of the action of the Government, but the Radicals considered that the Eastern Question was far from being settled, and neither believed in the Turkish promise of Reform nor approved of the occupation of Cyprus.	The *Globe* published the full text of the secret agreement with Russia before the Congress. On the return of Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury, the London Press, except the *Spectator*, *Daily Chronicle*, and *Echo*, strongly approved of their action. The *Edinburgh Review* was not at all satisfied, and the chief Liberal provincial organs disapproved of the action of the Government.	The public were carried away by a wave of enthusiastic hero-worship for Lord Beaconsfield, although there is no evidence to cause one to believe that they followed the course of events in the East, or knew the details of the Act of Congress. The reception afforded to Lord Beaconsfield was similar to that usually accorded to a victorious general and not to a successful diplomatist.

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Date.	Action or Measure.	The Crown and the Ministers.	House of Lords.	House of Commons.	The Press.	The Public.
1882.	Bombardment of Alexandria and Occupation of Egypt.	Lord Granville decided that it was necessary to use force to crush Arabi. Gladstone's statement showed that, although prepared to support the Khedive, the Government were not prepared to bombard Alexandria and occupy Egypt. Bright resigned from the Ministry because the action was against his principles.	The criticisms of Lord Salisbury and the Upper House were on the details of the action, and not on the principle of the occupation of Egypt.	This is an excellent example of the occasional effects of party politics. Mr Gladstone and the Radicals were obliged to defend an action against their professed principles, and the Conservatives had to criticise an action of which they approved because they were in opposition. The vote of credit was carried by 275 to 19 on July 27th.	The newspapers supported the Government in its efforts to restore order in Egypt, and agreed that it was useless to expect Turkey to do so. The tone was friendly towards France, and no newspaper warfare occurred with any of the Powers.	Enthusiasm at the success of the fleet at Alexandria chiefly affected the public. Naturally the results of warfare are more easily followed and understood than those of diplomacy, and the successful campaigns of Lord Wolseley chiefly interested the public. The delay in rescuing Gordon, and his murder, probably roused more feeling against Mr Gladstone than any other act of his life.
1886 and 1892.	Home Rule for Ireland.	When Mr Gladstone brought in his first Home Rule measure, Lord Hartington and Mr Chamberlain resigned their offices as Ministers, and formed the Liberal-Unionist party, which joined with the Conservatives, and the Government appealed to the country. In 1892 the Ministers in Mr Gladstone's Cabinet supported him unanimously.	When the second Home Rule Bill was sent up to the Lords it was thrown out by 419 to 41 votes.	The Commons rejected the first Home Rule measure; but after an exhaustive debate, and with a Liberal application of the Closure, the 1892 Bill passed by a small majority.	The Press were almost unanimous in condemning the measure of 1886, and even Nationalist organs objected to some of the finance clauses. Some of the Liberal organs which opposed returned to Mr Gladstone's fold in 1892.	The public were chiefly led by the Press. Exaggerated hopes and fears were freely expressed. The faith in Mr Gladstone was discounted by the faith in Lord Hartington and Mr Chamberlain. The Unionists talked of "total separation," and the Radicals thought that the Irish ought to have Home Rule because "they wanted it."

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Date.	Action or Measure.	The Crown and the Ministers.	House of Lords.	House of Commons.	The Press.	The Public.
1898.	China and Egypt.	Lord Salisbury apparently applied the principles which have actuated foreign policy in Turkey to China, and although he endeavoured to maintain the Celestial Empire intact, prevented the balance of power being altered by occupying Wei-hai-wei, and by aiding other Powers to acquire leases of territory also. In Egypt the conquest of the Soudan renders it easy to connect the Cape and Cairo by railway.	The Upper House supported Lord Salisbury, and the criticisms of his foreign policy from the Radicals were merely on questions of detail and not of principle.	In the Lower House the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs was assailed by requests for news, and the Government was criticised sharply for allowing Russia to acquire Port Arthur. All sections of the House, except a small body of little Englanders, now agree that it is not the time to evacuate Egypt.	The *Times* distinguished itself by repeatedly receiving most important information before the Foreign Office. Many of the Conservative organs blamed the Government for not more stoutly resisting Russia, and hint that Lord Salisbury ought not to be both Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary. The Press thoroughly supported his action in the Soudan.	A general feeling that Russia was gaining more than we were was created by the comments of the Press; but the acquisition of Wei-hai-wei somewhat reassured the public. The Soudan campaign appealed to all classes, from the most warlike to the most peace-loving, and Lord Kitchener was received with a wave of enthusiastic hero-worship.

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Section II.—The Immediate Future

The consideration of the past and present naturally leads to thoughts of the probable influence of the various forces in the immediate future.

(*a*) The Crown.

There is no sign which leads us to believe that the sentiment of loyalty to the Crown is in any way diminishing, nor is there any reason to suppose that it will do so in the future. Indeed, the dictum that "the King can do no wrong" is not actually a great exaggeration, for although the King might attempt to persuade his Ministers to adopt measures which in their opinion would not be for the public good, they would not be likely to acquiesce since they would be held personally responsible. On the other hand, the King will always be able to give advice to Ministers and to encourage them to pursue a course which seems to him best, as seen from a level far above and removed from the arena of party politics. But in any case the opinions of the Monarch will not be made public at the time, and so it will happen that he will never be in a position to be blamed. The public will therefore not have the opportunity of judging the political wisdom of a Monarch even if they had the capability to do so, and will only be able to judge of his character by reading such real and imaginary details of his life as are described in the Society Journals, and handed on with various embellishments by the great majority, who not being competent to "speak of things," "talk of persons."

George III., although politically stupid, retained

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the affections of his people by rigorously observing the standard of domestic morality which governed the lives of the great bulk of the nation. George IV. was despised by everyone, because of his dissolute extravagant manner of living, and William IV. was regarded as an eccentric sailor with little virtue and less political wisdom. But the Monarch of the future will only be popular if he not only conforms his life to the popular ideas of right and wrong, but sympathises with popular tastes and pursuits. The Prince Consort existed on an intellectual level far above the existing standard of the aristocracy of the country when he arrived here, and consequently was at first misunderstood, and it was only when he proved himself an adept horseman that he enlisted the admiration of the fox-hunting squires, and when he showed a great knowledge of practical engineering and manufactures he at once greatly impressed the commercial classes. The ideal Monarch should indeed be the most cultured and versatile man in the Kingdom, and should not only be able to show a great knowledge of the highest statesmanship, and to take an intelligent interest in the highest forms of literary, scientific and artistic culture, and in practical industry, but should also countenance and encourage those sports and pastimes which enter so greatly into the lives of the people. The influence of the Court on political questions may be regarded as practically extinct, but the influence on morality by example is undoubtedly greater in these days of publicity than ever before, and that influence chiefly affects the middle classes who form the backbone of the national strength.

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(*b*) The Cabinet.

The actual power possessed by the Cabinet to direct public affairs is theoretically much greater to-day than at the commencement of the century, because the Sovereign does not deliberately attempt to thwart such of its actions as are opposed to the Royal will; but practically the influence of the Press and public opinion modify to-day the action of Ministers far more than did George III. by his blunt obstinacy.

So much indeed is this the case, that in the future, before any important measure is introduced, the pulse of the country will probably be taken and its opinion asked, and if it is adverse the measure will be either dropped or very much altered. If Mr Gladstone, instead of hinting in the Press that he intended to grant some form of Home Rule to Ireland, had stated the chief provisions of his measure, the Press and the public would have had the opportunity of condemning at once the offending clauses, and it is possible he might have modified it into some such shape as the Bill of 1892 or dropped it altogether, and so prevented the inconvenience of a general election and the apparently permanent secession from his party of its most influential members. The present Government enlisted the services of the whole Cabinet in 1898 for the purpose of lecturing on the London Government Bill, and estimated the opinion of the metropolis by the results of the County Council Election. Apparently that body has managed to win the affection of Londoners to a great extent, and the measure had to be modified so as not to unduly encroach on its power, and the result was a Bill which was accepted

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by everyone, although of course many of the details were opposed.

The Ministers of the future will probably adopt the practice of not only submitting Measures to the electorate before general elections, but also outline their main provisions. In other words, principles will gradually be subordinated to opportunism, and the history of the last half of the century clearly shows that the ancient principles on which the parties professed to act have but slightly affected their practice.

This is to a great extent inevitable, for the public demands that certain measures should be passed and is quite indifferent which party passes them, nor does it either know or care whether the modern actions of the parties are or are not consistent with their ancient principles. In other words, the party which is in power must obey the will of the people at the moment, and if it satisfies the country, its policy has been opportunistic; and if it does not, the other party are given a chance at the next general election. At present, however, legislation is well abreast, if not ahead, of public opinion, and there is less probability that in the immediate future Ministers will require to be urged by agitation in any possible direction than that the country will cry out for a little breathing time in order to give the newly constituted authorities and measures some chance to prove their efficiency or inefficiency before they are ruthlessly reconstituted or amended. In their executive action Ministers are criticised in the Houses of Parliament, in the Press, and in private, and here we have an entirely different state of things. Ministers must act on their own responsibility, and in

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most cases at once without being able to ascertain the opinion of their own or the opposite party, or that of the Press or public. The Foreign Policy of a Cabinet must be largely that of the Foreign Secretary, although it is certain to be modified to a great extent by the action of other Powers and by criticism at home, so there can be no question of submitting details to the country beforehand, and the Press is competent to criticise the policy as it discovers it; the only action which remains for the public, therefore, is to pronounce which party should direct foreign affairs. The most important mental characteristics for a Foreign Secretary are a strong self-reliant nature susceptible to, but not overawed by adverse criticism; a calm, unemotional, rational mind, influenced, but not governed by sentiment; and a great knowledge of the habits, passions and modes of thought of other nations. Philosophic scholars are quite unsuited for directing foreign affairs, as was demonstrated by Lord Aberdeen, and the ideal theories of Mr Gladstone would probably have led him to adopt a far different foreign policy, if it had not been for the firmness of Lord Granville from 1880 to 1885 and Lord Rosebery in 1892.

The leader of the House of Commons requires a great knowledge of the weakness, as well as of the strength of his supporters and opponents. He should, while never yielding to their prejudices, nevertheless attempt to so frame and carry on government business that no one can either pose as a martyr for being summarily closured, or, on the other hand, can obstruct work by frivolous discussions.

A very important characteristic for the leader to

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cultivate is the power of being satirical without being rude, which is probably one of the rarest of all oratorical attainments. His knowledge should be of an all-round character, so that he is not imposed upon by the plausibility of specialists.

The executive work of Ministers is performed with the aid and advice of the permanent officials who are specialists, and most of it can therefore be carried on by any ordinary man of common sense; and with the exception of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who must be a skilled economist, no other Minister need have any special acquaintance with the subject dealt with in his office.

In the future the gifts of oratory and the power of debate will probably be less considered in choosing Ministers than in the past, for the public wish for clear business-like statements, which they can at once understand, and are only anxious that the work of the country should be carried on with the minimum of friction and expense and the maximum of efficiency.

But, on the other hand, the more a man knows of a subject the more exceptions and necessary limitations occur to his mind, so that the art of explaining a difficult question in a few simple words will always be of essential importance to politicians, and to cultivate that art a study of metaphysics and logic will always be essential.

(*c*) The House of Lords.

The House of Lords will retain the confidence of the country so long as it does not attempt to resist the clearly expressed wishes of the people and does not show an aggressive party spirit.

In the first half of the century the Lords were not

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only the tyrannical masters of the Radicals but were the humble slaves of the Tories, the former rôle being caused by the weakness of fear and the latter by the weakness of partizanship. But every year since, the Upper House has showed more and more independence, and it is this spirit which is the most hopeful sign for its future.

The Reform Bill of 1832 was resisted until the Peers were coerced by fear, the Conservative Measure of 1867 was resisted by some of the Conservatives, and that of 1884 was arranged by compromise between the party leaders, but there is, unfortunately, still a tendency to pass without opposition measures sent up by a Conservative Government which are quite as radical as those instituted by the Liberals, but which are at once thrown out.

But although the fate of such measures as the Employers' Liability Acts shows that the party spirit is still strong, yet undoubtedly the tone of the speeches is less influenced by partizanship in the Lords than in the Commons. In course of time when the country realises that government by parties is only a convenient working method of converting its wishes into laws, and that the principles of both are almost identical, we can reasonably expect that still less of the partizan spirit will be shown by the Upper House.

There are indeed several signs that the Lords study closely public opinion and act upon it without undue consideration for the mandate of the Commons when it is obtained by a majority formed by the third party, or by an ambitious Minister who, in order to pass some particular measure, gains votes in the constituencies by promising many others; and

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if the resistance to the Reform Bill of 1832 was chiefly caused by the fear of allowing the middle classes too much power, the resistance to the Home Rule Bill of 1892 was due to the clearly recognised fact that the country did not want it.

It is doubtless true that the Conservative leaders in the House of Lords are always prominent members of the Conservative Government when that party is in power, and consequently know what measures will be introduced, but we must not forget that the Conservative peers can only be Ministers when the party possesses a majority in the Lower House, which is dependent upon the votes of the electorate. Consequently, there is always a danger that even the Conservative leaders in the House of Lords may acquiesce in legislation framed chiefly to please the majority, but which does not sufficiently safeguard the interests of the minority. If this ever happens the chief function of the House of Lords as a brake on hasty and class legislation will be gone, and its speedy abolition will soon follow. The Lords in a sense ought to perform some such service as the federal judges do in the United States, and satisfy themselves that all new legislation is not contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, but it is a far more difficult task in that they have no written document as a foundation on which to base their decisions.

But if the House of Lords takes the place not only of a written constitution but also of the federal judges who interpret it, it is obvious that the former must be, and the latter ought to be, entirely independent of party.

The House of Lords, as constituted at present, is perfectly competent to fulfil this function in an

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efficient manner, and it depends entirely on its own actions, and on the strength which it shows in the future, whether it retains or loses the confidence of the country.

The landed aristocracy are at present placed in an unfortunate and unenvious position. They have an ever decreasing income from their agricultural land, but are still expected to keep up the same expensive establishments and to make a great display of wealth. On the other hand their titles have a great value commercially; they command a high price in the American matrimonial market; they are useful in helping their possessors to obtain Colonial Governorships and other appointments which require the holder to possess rank and birth; and they have a value on the boards of commercial undertakings. The influence of the aristocracy and landed gentry in the counties is now practically limited to that over their tenants and servants, and the powers of the Lord Lieutenant, Sheriff, and J.P.'s have been largely given to the locally elected bodies.

(*d*) The House of Commons.

Is the social and intellectual position of the average private member lower to-day than it was at the beginning of the century, and is it likely to fall lower?

According to the usually accepted notions of rank, the table on page 194 shows that the social position of the majority of members is lower than it was in 1833, but that is, of course, of comparatively no importance if the intellectual level has also not fallen. Now although the intelligence and knowledge of the present House of Commons is undoubtedly greater

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than that of the one elected in 1801, yet the latter consisted of more members of the highly cultured classes of that period than does the Commons of to-day. In other words, the general intelligence of the community is now more nearly on a level with that of the House of Commons, and the highly cultured are farther above it. The intellectual level of the House of Commons is at present on a par with that of the commercial classes, and the work is therefore performed in a more practical and useful manner than we should expect would be possible if the members chiefly consisted of Fellows of the learned societies, who are usually men eminent in culture, but unbusiness-like.

But there are several reasons which cause us to expect both that the intellectual level of the House of Commons will fall lower, and that the influence which it possesses in the country will diminish. These reasons may be described under the headings—(1) the internal action of the House of Commons; and (2) the effects of outside forces.

Inside the House the importance of the private member steadily diminishes. At the beginning of the century there were a large number of members elected by their own boroughs, and who were therefore certain of a seat, and could support Pitt over one measure, such as the Act of Union, and oppose him over another, such as the suppression of the slave trade, without fear of having to account to their party or to their constituents. Now, the private member is a mere cipher who is sent to support certain Ministers or certain measures, and when he hurries from the smoking room or the terrace, and is directed into the lobby by the

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party whips, in a great number of cases he does not even know the object of the division. Nor does it appear possible in practice to allow the private member to exercise his own judgment, for when Mr Balfour allowed the question of admitting women to share in the municipal government of London to remain an open one, a whole evening was wasted amending and re-amending the clauses, and the discussion was finally adjourned. Again, the Government business takes more and more time and the private member has thus fewer and fewer opportunities to speak, and unless he goes into the House with a pre-established reputation, he is scarcely listened to at all.

The result must be that men of strong intellects, in the future will not be attracted in such numbers to Parliament as they were in the past, and their places will be taken by successful business men who hope to improve their social position by being members, but who are too old to learn the principles and practice of politicians. But if the numbers of strong intellects diminish, there will be fewer suitable members to choose from to form the Ministries, and so the strength of Governments will become less, and the welfare of the nation suffer.

But besides the probability that the intellectual strength of the members will diminish, the power of the House of Commons is likely to be seriously curtailed from without by the action of the Political Associations and by the Press. The Political Associations were formed to support the principles of the parties, and at present are kept fairly well in hand by the party leaders; but there is some probability (see p. 284) that in time they will wish

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to stand on a more independent footing, and instead of being subordinate to the House of Commons, will endeavour to dictate to it. Now, we must remember that the whole of the political machinery for election purposes is controlled by these bodies, and, consequently, if they disliked any Minister or his principles, they could greatly influence the result of the next general election and ensure the return of a great number of candidates pledged to oppose him. The inevitable result will be that the Ministers must attend to the dictates of the Associations, or at election times pit themselves against the most formidable agency which has ever been created, and at the present time it is certain that the faith in the authority of only two or three names could not stand for a moment against such a force. If one instructs a servant to do such work that in time he becomes indispensable, one is merely preparing for the time when he becomes one's master. The next important power which daily encroaches upon the ancient influence of the House of Commons brings us to a new section.

(*e*) The Press.

By the expression public opinion is usually meant that of the Press, but throughout this work we have endeavoured to treat the influence of the Press as a force which acts upon and influences, and is thus more the cause than the effect of public action. The political opinion of the Press is that of a few hundred highly educated and cultured writers, while the public consists of forty millions of people who are conversant with the practice of the one occupation by means of which they earn their daily bread, and know practically nothing of any other.

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The political writer for the Press is, of course, compelled to agree with the party which his newspaper supports, just as the private member of Parliament must vote for his leader; but the former is, in most cases, a specialist who has devoted a life time to studying politics, while the latter has only in most cases had a few years' experience in the practical working of the House of Commons. The opinion of the Press is thus of equal or more value than that of the Lower House on questions of domestic legislation, and, furthermore, is much more generally read, for whereas very few newspapers report the parliamentary speeches at length, and only a very few people have the time or inclination to read them, nearly everyone reads the leaders or short occasional notes in their morning or evening newspaper. In questions of foreign policy the opinion of the leading organs is, of course, worth far more than that of the private members of Parliament, who can only obtain information from their columns, and who are, in most cases, restricted, when curious, to asking the Foreign Secretary whether the information published in the *Times* is accurate, and whether it has been officially received at the Foreign Office.

We have demonstrated how the influence of the Press has gradually grown during the century, and there is every reason to suppose it will continue to do so.

It seems, therefore, that the time has come when journalists should be prepared for their profession by a definite course of instruction in special schools, just as lawyers and doctors are, for although many university graduates adopt the profession of journalism, I do not remember a single case of a man who went

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up to Oxford or Cambridge for the express purpose of being prepared for such a calling. Now it is well known that the average graduate does not write good grammar, and in many cases spells incorrectly, and while the latter may be corrected by the printer's reader, the former is not, as a rule, altered. It seems, therefore, desirable that a new honours school should be established with the object of teaching English Grammar and a good literary style, Ancient and Modern History, Political Theology and Economy, Law, Ethics, Moral Sciences, and Psychology, so that a class of men may receive as definite a training for their profession as is required before engaging in the Government services, in the law or in medicine.

The times are past when the science of politics could be regarded as the practical government of the country on ordinary common-sense principles, and it now holds the position of one of the most difficult of professions, complicated by the fact that the application of its principles has to be approved by the majority of the country, who are quite unable to judge of their merits, and who are biassed by various prejudices and feelings, which far more than neutralise their powers of independent thought or reasoning.

(*f*) The Public.

If we eliminate the influence of the Press and party feeling, the will of the people, as expressed by their political actions, is very difficult to estimate, and in the preceding chapter we have attempted some description of popular politics. Suffice it, then, to relate here the chief manifestations of feeling, which may be regarded as chiefly spon-

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taneous during the century. The people during the Napoleonic wars were either in a state of panic, expecting the landing of Bonaparte every day, or were rejoicing at his defeats. Volunteer and Militia corps were formed throughout England, and the warlike instincts of the people were stimulated by the rhetoric both of the pulpit and the stage. Napoleon was caricatured, abused, burnt in effigy, and accused of every conceivable crime in obscene and vulgar terms. In Essex, and along the whole of the south coast, and in the Isle of Wight, the terror of invasion was especially great, and the inhabitants prepared to migrate with all their portable property at a moment's notice. On the other hand, the populace were carried away by an enthusiastic love of Wellington, and a great spirit of patriotism was aroused which, as usual among the uncultured, took the form more of hatred for the enemy and concern for the safety of themselves than any disinterested love of their country. After the peace of 1815, when work became scarce, the people rioted because they thought the Government was not ensuring the prosperity of the country. The repressive Acts of 1819 undoubtedly caused the Tory Government to become unpopular, and both hastened on the agitation for Reform of the Franchise, and caused many converts to Radicalism. This feeling was increased by the attempt to divorce the Queen, who was regarded as a martyr to an immoral autocratic monarch and a Tory Government. The superstitious dread of the Pope and Romanism strongly affected the nation during the whole period of agitation for Catholic Emancipa-

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tion, although large numbers in its favour were returned to Parliament, but the Reform Bill was welcomed by the people, who at once rioted when they thought the Lords were preventing them obtaining their "rights." The feelings of people during the agitation for the Repeal of the Corn Laws were directly aroused by the simple consideration whether they thought they would benefit or lose by the measure, but the agitation for the charter resolved itself again into a question of "rights."

The feeling in favour of the Crimean War was apparently roused by the idea that the Czar was attempting to coerce a weaker country, just as the feeling against the Sultan during the Armenian outrages was based on the supposition that a tyrant was exterminating Christians, and the English, actuated by a keen sense of justice, always protest against the strong oppressing the weak. During the agitation for reform in 1866 the closure of the Park Gates was a direct infringement of an old right, and resulted in active resistance, but the spirit shown was more the desire to indulge in horse-play than to vindicate a principle. Although in the early and middle years of the century the desire for a "vote" was very strong, it is very doubtful whether the public are at the present time as anxious to elect local bodies as the Ministers are to create them.[1] The manual workers take some interest in the various Parish and District Councils and School Boards, but the

[1] At present the ratepayer in London votes for individuals to serve in five distinct bodies—the House of Commons, the County Council, the School Board, the Vestries, and the Guardians.

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middle classes are beginning to understand that since each has to be superintended by a strong central department, the chief result is that an increased burden of rates and taxes falls upon their shoulders without any equivalent gain either to themselves or to the country. It is true the people elect the School Boards, but the code of education is necessarily arranged by experts at the central department; the people elect the District Councils who levy and spend the rates and form bye-laws, but the former are audited by officials appointed by the Local Government Board who may disallow the items, and the latter must be approved by the Central Government at headquarters. Secondary Education is no doubt greatly needed, but the formation of more local authorities is undesirable. The chaos of local government has been reduced to something like a system in the last twenty years, but the continuous multiplication of locally elected bodies will lead to as much confusion as existed in the days when the whole country was divided into districts and areas for various purposes of health, education and protection, none of which were conterminate and each was governed by a separate authority.

The prosperity of the country in the seventies satisfied everyone and Mr Gladstone's sweeping measures of reform evoked no manifestation of feeling. During the Russo-Turkish War the one idea in the popular mind was that the Russians should not take Constantinople, and when Lord Beaconsfield returned from the Berlin Congress the nation revelled in one of its greatest pleasures, the adoration of an idol. After the occupation of Egypt

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and the death of Gordon, a great wave of feeling was aroused against the Liberal Government which has even now scarcely subsided and probably accentuated the worship of his avenger, Lord Kitchener, who received a greater ovation than any hero during the last quarter of the century.

The feeling against Home Rule for Ireland was the natural objection felt to divide the Empire into separate states coupled with some irrational fear of French invasion, but faith in the authorities Lord Hartington and Mr Chamberlain, and the almost unanimous action of the Press chiefly affected the public mind. The chief arguments of the ignorant for the measure appear to have been that "the Irish wanted it" and that Mr Gladstone agreed with them.

The nineteenth century will always stand out clearly in history as the era of reform, as the era of commercial prosperity, and as the era of both scientific material discovery and revival in the Church. But it will also be remembered as the age of extreme specialisation of function leading to great development of minds in various grooves. Now, although it is a sign of mental development to think for oneself and not to be governed entirely by tradition and "faith in authorities," yet if each one did not always remember that he is merely a unit of a vast organism and that his actions must be governed by a due regard for the welfare of others, the resulting condition would speedily be anarchic, for independent thinkers are just as bigoted in favour of independence as are the members of any sect or class in favour of its doctrine and practices, so that independence in thought often leads to

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marked intolerance. The ideal man is one who, with a strong pronounced character of his own, nevertheless endeavours to amalgamate it with the characters of others so that the combined work of the whole advances the development of the human race.

There is no reason to suppose that the forces which have influenced people since the earliest periods will fail to do so in the future, but their effects may be lessened by careful education and training which should be directed chiefly with the object of impressing everyone with the idea that he has other duties to perform than merely those which will affect the welfare of himself and his family in this world and the next. Each individual is a specialised unit of the community with his own work to do, but he is also an integral portion of the State, and his influence affects directly or indirectly the happiness and prosperity of the whole country and indeed the whole world.

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